Pay-off on Palestine—*Lillie Shultz*

DEC 16 1948

THE Nation

December 18, 1948

HISS–CHAMBERS

A Tangled Web

BY THOMAS SANCTON

*

That Oil Shortage Again

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Library
East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

*

'hilip Murray's Limited Purge - - - - - *Robert Bendiner*
Iental Disturbances and Old Age - - - *Martin Gumpert*
'he Battle for Negba - - - - - - - - - *Freda Kirchwey*
)e Gaulle in 1949? : II - - - - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*
'he Olive Garden - - - - - - - - - *Rainer Maria Rilke*

CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 6 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

got any

friends who take a year-round interest in peace on earth and good-will to men?

Any who'd rather have a flourishing, independent liberal spirit in the land for Christmas than a new necktie?

They'd probably be pleased by a gift subscription to The Nation.

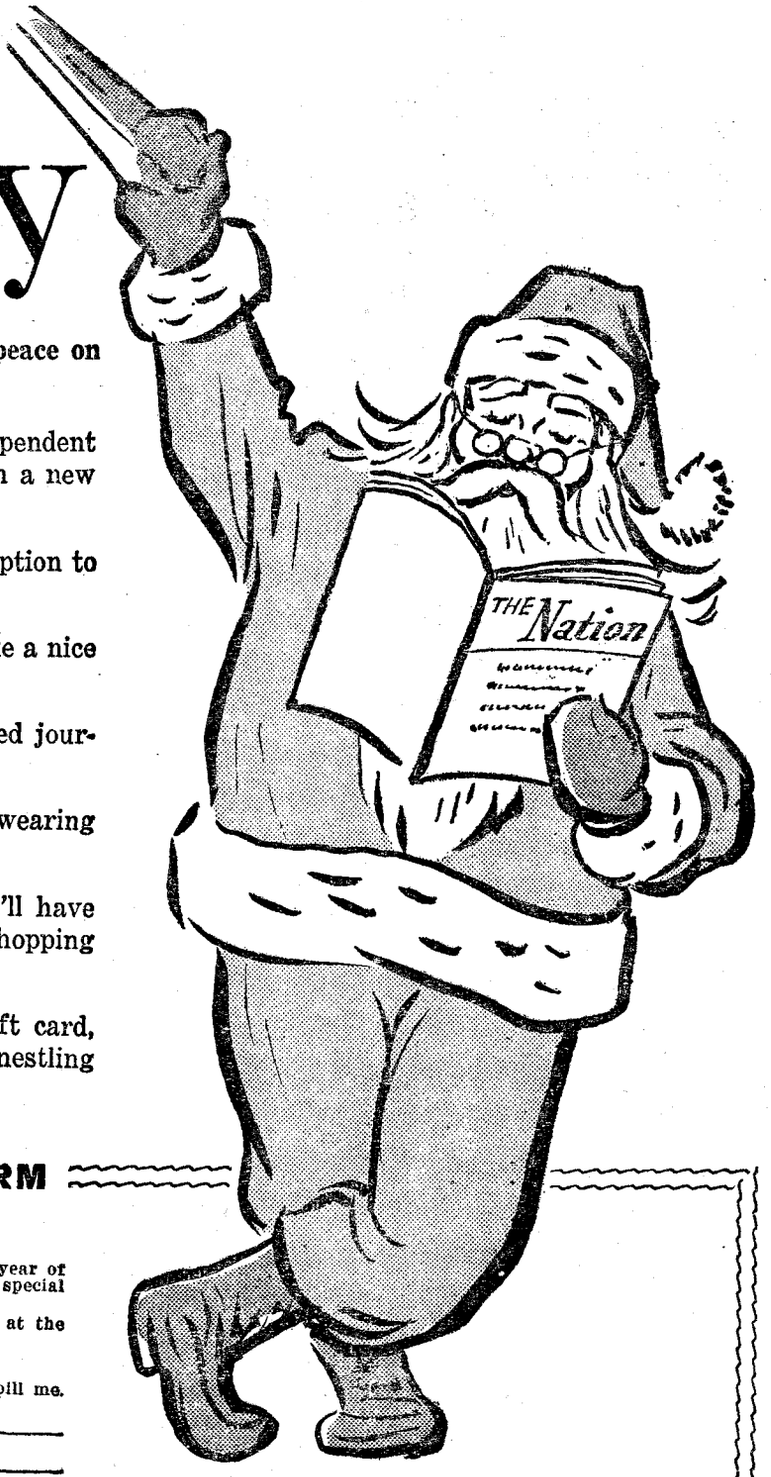
After all, 52 weeks of straight thinking make a nice Christmas package.

52 weeks of honest, thoughtful, unintimidated journalism can pack a lot of the old Yule spirit.

(And where nowadays can you find a longer-wearing four dollars' worth of gift?)

So fill in and mail the order form, and you'll have cleaned up a good part of your Christmas shopping in a most constructive way.

We'll handle the rest. We'll even send a gift card, naming you as donor, in time to have it nestling under the tree on Christmas morning.



GIFT ORDER FORM

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, Inc.
Twenty Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of one year of The Nation to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of $4 each.

☐ Also renew my own subscription to The Nation at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now.
☐ Remittance inclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My Name is_____

Street_____

City_____

Zone & State_____

Regular Subscription Rates:
One Year $6 • Two Years $10 • Three Years $14
For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add $1.00 a year.

LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

12/18/48

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 18, 1948 NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

IN TERMS OF POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENT, the General Assembly, which wound up its third regular session in Paris this week, can hardly be called a success. Its most important concrete act was the new Palestine resolution creating a conciliation commission to help bring about a settlement between Israel and the invading Arab states. But even this was a weak compromise, based on backstage dickering, rather than a decision on the merits of the case. Its value is chiefly negative, as Miss Shultz's article on page 688 clearly demonstrates. Other equally critical problems fared worse. The Berlin dispute, brought to the United Nations by the three chief Western powers, remains unresolved. Neither the efforts of the Argentine delegate, Señor Bramuglia, nor those of Dr. Herbert V. Evatt and Secretary General Lie to bring the disputants together have had any effect. Dr. Evatt, however, who emerged at Paris as the unchallenged leader of the smaller powers and a courageous champion of conciliation, refuses to admit defeat. He believes progress was marked by the creation of conciliation commissions in the Berlin, Greek, and Palestine disputes, and he called attention at the close of the meeting to the unanimous adoption of the Mexican resolution urging renewed consultations between Russia and the West. But broad resolutions indorsing peace, and even commissions appointed to work for it, are more easily obtained than the settlement of specific disputes; this Dr. Evatt recognized when he referred to the difficulty of disposing of issues which were "a legacy of big-power disagreement."

*

IT IS SIGNIFICANT, PERHAPS, THAT THE outstanding successes of the Assembly were the Declaration of Human Rights and the convention to outlaw genocide. Support of these two proposals was almost unanimous: even the opposition of the Soviet bloc was directed to specific points rather than to general principles. Taken together, they represent a wholesome concern for the ideals which the war was fought to secure, and if they succeed in calling the world's attention to the dangers that still threaten freedom in even the most advanced countries, they will serve an immediately useful purpose. Whether they will have more pragmatic results is at least doubtful. Genocide has always been a crime and had been looked upon as such by civilized people long before it was given a name. To end it will require more than a convention; it will require a world society in which Hitlers cannot rise to power. And so, indeed, with the Declaration of Human Rights. Though we greet it as a symbol of high aspiration, we find our practical doubts summed up in a single modest paragraph of the declaration itself. Article 28 says: "Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized." Until that rather sweeping provision is carried into effect, the majority of the other provisions are likely to remain in the realm of hope.

*

OF THE MANY AND VARIED ASPECTS OF THE Hiss-Chambers mystery, none calls for more clarity, more sobriety, or more decisiveness than the question of extending the life of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Time and the machinery of the courts will eventually reveal the extent of Communist espionage suggested by the episode, separate the truth from the lies in a welter of irreconcilable testimony, including the glaringly contradictory statements of Chambers himself, and even determine just when the microfilm was made that turned up so fortuitously for the committee. Doubts as to the legitimacy of this evidence are inevitable in view of Chambers's original testimony that he left the Communist Party in 1937—some of the documents are dated 1938—and of the first impression of Eastman Kodak experts that the film was actually manufactured only a year ago. All this will take patience and impartial investigation, but what will have to be decided in a matter of weeks is the fate of the House committee. It is vital to establish the point that a solution of the Hiss-Chambers matter in no way depends on continuing this grossly injudicious and harmful agency. On the contrary, the prosecution of the case will be facilitated when the grand jury no longer has to contend with the committee's indefensible tactics, including the snatching of witnesses and the piecemeal release of sensational tidbits calculated to keep the public in a permanent fever. If the theft of official information is real, as well it may be, the case is hardly a "red herring," as President Truman calls it, and the possible laxity of the Justice Department calls for legitimate Congressional inquiry. But that is all the more reason to replace the Un-American Activities Committee with the kind of responsible investigative agency that, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 681
Are Profits Too High? 684
Mme Chiang's Rebuff 685

ARTICLES
Politics and People: Murray's Limited Purge *by Robert Bendiner* 685
De Gaulle in 1949? II. The Left Commits Suicide *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 686
Pay-off on Palestine *by Lillie Shultz* 688
Hiss-Chambers: A Tangled Web *by Thomas Sancton* 691
Israel at First Glance: III. The Battle of Negba *by Freda Kirchwey* 693
Mental Disturbances and Old Age *by Martin Gumpert* 695
Muscle-bound America: III. That Oil Shortage Again *by A.G. Mezerik* 696

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Two Americaan Painters *by Benjamin Rowland, Jr.* 699
The Olive Garden *A Poem* *by Rainer Maria Rilke* 700
Our Record on Japan *by Nathaniel Peffer* 701
Maurois on France *by Crane Brinton* 702
White on Black *by Hartley Grattan* 703
A Major Poet Translated in a Minor Key *by Eliezer Greenberg* 703
"St. Nick" *by Robert Bendiner* 704
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 704
Films *by Anthony Bower* 705
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 706

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 707

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 292 *by Frank W. Lewis* 708

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Thomas Sancton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Jerry Tallmer *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the words of Representative Holifield, will assure witnesses "the same protective rights which are now extended to a chicken thief haled before a police court."

*

A 1934 LAW ORDERED THAT ALL EXPORTS financed by United States government loans or grants must be carried in American ships. This was always indefensible and it is completely antagonistic to the declared American policy of doing away with discriminatory practices in international trade. Nevertheless, when the European Recovery bill was before Congress, American shipping interests sought to have its principle applied to recovery cargoes. They were only partially successful. Congress inserted a clause declaring that at least 50 per cent of ECA shipments must be carried by American vessels but added "to the extent that such vessels are available at market rates." Now ECA's chief, Paul Hoffmann, finding that American shipowners are charging for bulk cargoes up to 50 per cent more than world competitive rates, has asserted that he is no longer willing to burden the European Recovery Program with what is, in effect, a subsidy for the shipping. The Maritime Commission, the shipowners, and the National Maritime Union have promptly boiled over and are appealing to Mr. Truman to call Mr. Hoffman to order. Should his decision stand, they prophesy, thousands of seamen will lose their jobs, and the merchant marine, a main arm of American defense, will be ruined. Now it is undoubtedly true that in the tramp trade, at any rate, American shipowners find it hard to compete with Europe owing to higher labor and other costs. But if the price of an efficient merchant marine is a subsidy—and perhaps we should consider whether nationalization would not be a cheaper alternative—then it should not be charged to European recovery. The policy of subsidizing private enterprise is, at best, a doubtful one; if we cannot avoid it, we should, at least, insist on undisguised subsidies.

*

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S SEARCH FOR A character, previewed in Robert Bendiner's article, Elephant up a Tree (*The Nation*, November 27), is developing the expected clash between rebellious idealists, like Philip Willkie, and the hard-shelled leadership. James Reston, of the New York *Times*, reports that the propaganda of the Young Republicans calls for what the party hierarchy regards as "radical" solutions, whereas it is looking for "compromise" solutions. But the burden of the tory argument has been that it was just such "me-too" compromising—"some planning is all right and we can do it better than the Democrats"—that has brought the G. O. P. to its lowly condition. It is not surprising, therefore, that the compromise the conservatives have in mind is of the sort that implies a 2 per cent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concession on their part in return for a 98 per cent concession by their opponents. Hugh Scott would be replaced as National Committee chairman by Everett Dirksen, a political difference not perceptible by the most delicate gauge. Both Taft and Vandenberg would be asked to renounce jobs in the party leadership, though Vandenberg would presumably continue as the party's spokesman on foreign relations. Taft's post as chairman of the party's Senate Policy Committee would go to Eugene Millikin, of Colorado, a shift of several paces to the right. By way of compensation, Senator Wherry would be asked to yield the floor leadership to a moderate like Knowland or Lodge, but those who know the lusty Nebraskan are certain that only personal intervention by the spirit of Calvin Coolidge would induce him to step down without a fearful row. And nobody even hints at loosening the grip of Martin and Halleck on the Republican membership of the House. The Old Guard, it seems, has already made that "intelligent self-analysis" proposed by some Young Republicans. It has found itself right as rain.

*

ALMOST UNNOTICED AMONG THE DECISIONS handed down by the Supreme Court last week was the finding that a man may believe in "economic collectivism" and still be a good American. The ruling, which lesser courts and legislative committees would do well to note, was rendered in the case of Samuel Morris Wixman, formerly a professor at Los Angeles City College, whose application for citizenship had been rejected by the lower federal courts. The basis for the denial was Wixman's alleged failure to satisfy the statutory requirement that he be "attached to the principles of the Constitution . . . and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States," the lower courts having accepted as proof the fact that he had been known to indorse economic collectivism. In addition, the government's case rested on an abundance of hearsay evidence and irrelevant testimony of the kind we have become familiar with through the performances of the House Un-American Activities Committee and its small-time imitators. It is significant that the Supreme Court took the uncommon step of examining the evidence in this case, as well as reviewing the law, and that it found it too unconvincing to allow the lower court to act upon it. But the more fundamental aspect of the decision is its spiking of the fallacy that capitalism as such is guaranteed by the Constitution.

*

EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO, A PROGRAM FOR the permanent dissolution of Japanese industrial, financial, and family trusts was presented by the United States to the Far Eastern Commission. Last week, these proposals were formally withdrawn on the ground that General MacArthur had already persuaded the Japanese government to adopt a decentralization plan and to enact an anti-trust law. General Frank R. McCoy, American member of the commission, explaining this decision, declared that "with the daily growth of indications that the Japanese propose to enforce their fair-trade laws vigorously and effectively, it has been possible to reconsider the standards to be used in the dissolution of some of the combines existing." Actually, of course, an impressive paper plan for dissolving the Zaibatsu groups and distributing their assets has existed for some time. But Miriam Farley, a former member of the SCAP staff in Japan, writing in the November 26 *Bulletin* of the Foreign Policy Association, asserts that this program "has already been seriously retarded, if not entirely checkmated." The big difficulty was pointed out by Maxwell Stewart in *The Nation* of July 26. There is no monied middle-class in Japan able to buy up the combine shares in small lots and, since SCAP has rejected proposals for government ownership, the problem of redistribution remains unsolved. General McCoy's statement suggests that attempts to solve it have been abandoned and that the new anti-trust laws will be relied upon to make big aggregations of capital behave according to Adam Smith. When we think of the troubles the Department of Justice has in keeping our native Zaibatsu in order, we find it difficult to share the General's optimism.

*

AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT IS SURE TO result from the proceedings now being conducted behind closed doors against six professors at the University of Washington in Seattle. The charges, brought by the university's faculty Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom, are based on the findings of the Canwell (*cum* Tenney *cum* Thomas) Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, an all-Republican group which last summer, abetted by the Hearst press, staged a red hunt on the Washington campus (see *The Nation* for July 24 and August 14). The Canwell committee sifted some 1400 university staff members and finally produced two admitted Communists, three ex-Communists, and one fellow traveler. The university, said President Raymond B. Allen, could not ignore the questions of the danger of communism or whether Communists were "properly qualified"—that is, sufficiently honest—to serve on the faculty. So several weeks ago, in accordance with the university's administrative code, complaints were filed against the six men. When the faculty committee has completed its hearings, it will send its findings of fact and recommendations for action to the president and the Board of Regents, which "by law and necessity" will decide whether or not to fire some or all of the accused. The key cases are obviously those of the two admitted Communists, Professor Herbert J.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Phillips of the Philosophy Department and Professor Joseph Butterworth of the English Department. If they keep their jobs, so will the others, *a fortiori*. If they are discharged, the university's action will run headlong into the considered judgment of the American Association of University Professors. For in a long report last year, an A. A. U. P. subcommittee weighed the problem of the Communist professor and decided that "there is nothing now apparent in reference to the Communist Party in the United States, or to international conditions, that calls for a departure from the principles of freedom and tenure by which the association has been guided throughout its history."

Are Profits Too High?

UNDER the able chairmanship of Senator Flanders of Vermont, a subcommittee of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Economic Report has been hearing testimony about profits. Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard and other economists say they are not too high; Professor Seymour Harris of Harvard, Stanley Ruttenberg of the C. I. O., and other economists say they are.

Nobody can deny that profits are as large as they have ever been and greater than in most previous periods. Corporate profits, after payment of taxes, are now running at the rate of more than $20 billion a year, against $18 billion in 1947, $10.8 billion in 1944, the biggest war year, and $8.4 billion in 1929, the great boom year of peace. It is contended, however, that these dollar figures are meaningless unless seen against the growth of the whole national income. Very well: in 1948, corporate profits will be more than 9 per cent of the national income; in 1947, they were 8.8 per cent, in 1944, 6 per cent, and in 1929, 9.4 per cent.

But are they too high? No sage can tell us just how large profits should be. According to the classical theory upon which the usual defense of "competitive private enterprise" is based, there should be no profits at all: under theoretical "pure competition," with full employment, every industry would arrive at an equilibrium in which no firms would have either profits or losses, and all consumers' wants would be satisfied by the best possible allocation of resources at the lowest possible cost. In real life, business men do their best to escape that condition by various degrees and kinds of monopoly, taking advantage of all favorable winds to make what they can. Workers, consumers, and farmers strive to enlarge their share of the national product, sometimes at the expense of profits. It is a scramble to which concepts of justice scarcely apply.

The question acquires meaning only in connection with specific issues of policy. For instance, we have a big armament program and growing obligations to Europe, as well as a need for government-stimulated housing, enlarged social security, and other domestic expenditures. If we are not to have a federal deficit, more taxes may have to be paid by somebody. We do not want a deficit as long as full employment exists and inflated prices are still a danger. Industry can undoubtedly pay higher taxes than at present and still produce at capacity; it did so during the war, when total industrial production was somewhat greater than now, even though there were fewer machines and factories. Profits are high enough to justify the reimposition of excess-profits taxes or higher income-tax rates on corporations.

Professor Slichter argues that since the prices of the things industry buys have also gone up, profits are not so high as they seem. When firms have to replace their inventories, their machines, and their factories, they will have to spend part of what they now announce as profits; their reserves for depreciation will not cover the cost. Possibly, but the same condition affects consumers, government, and everybody else. We have inflated prices; is business alone to escape unscathed?

The big problem is how to avoid still more inflation, and at the same time how to prevent it from collapsing into recession. What bearing do profits have on this question? Professor Slichter argues that the country needs greater investment in new factories and machines in order to increase production. Professor Harris argues that investment is now proceeding at such a rapid rate that it is the chief factor in forcing prices up. High profits induce large investment and provide most of the money for it.

Private investment in the United States—new construction, machinery, and additions to inventories—in the third quarter of 1948 took 15.2 per cent of the gross national product. This is a larger percentage than in any previous year since 1929, when it was exactly the same. We could not keep up that rate of investment after 1929, very largely because consumers of homes, automobiles, and other goods could not buy all that industry was equipped to make. Yet in 1929, personal-consumption expenditures were 75.9 per cent of the gross national product, against 69.8 per cent today.

Government is now buying a larger share than in 1929—14.7 per cent against 8.2 per cent—and wholly at the expense of consumers; it has not cut the share of the national output going into new capital below the record level of 1929. There is something ominous in these figures. If government expenditures go on increasing, they will work to prevent a slump, but if they are ever cut back, consumers will scarcely be able to buy all that industry is producing and preparing to produce unless they have larger incomes or pay lower prices. In either case, business profits would be somewhat smaller. But we shall be unable to avoid a slump unless business is prepared to pay that price.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mme Chiang's Rebuff

THAT Mme Chiang Kai-shek has failed in her ill-considered mission to Washington is now apparent to all. President Truman made it abundantly clear when he let ten days elapse before arranging a social half-hour with China's first lady. If Madame Chiang is angry, as she doubtless is, at the personal rebuff implicit in the President's delay, she must recognize that, in choosing to by-pass regular diplomatic channels with an unsupportable personal appeal, she chanced just such a reception. She could hardly have chosen a more unpropitious moment for her mission. The crushing setbacks suffered by Chiang's armies at Tsinan, Mukden, and Suchow revealed the utter bankruptcy of the Kuomintang's military as well as political leadership. In each instance, Kuomintang troops that were far better trained and equipped and at least equal in numbers allowed themselves to be outmaneuvered and trapped by the Communists' peasant soldiers. And in each instance, high Kuomintang officers went over to the enemy with all their troops and American equipment. In Nanking, the civilian government has virtually ceased to function, leaving all power in the hands of a military group that is interested only in perpetuating its own authority.

With scarcely even an acknowledgment of the more than three billion dollars in American aid that has gone to the Chiang regime since V-J Day, Mme Chiang has asked for another three billion to prop up the tottering Nanking government. Some Americans, chiefly the Republicans on whom the Kuomintang lobbyists have mistakenly concentrated their attention, believe that three billion dollars is a small price to pay to save China from what they describe as "the red tide from Moscow." But many State Department officials and other Americans who have closely followed the China situation believe that the coalition set up after Chiang's fall would turn to Moscow only if we drive it in that direction. In any event, they doubt that three or even five billion would "save" a government that the Chinese people obviously do not want. Experience in Greece, a country that is a mere fraction the size of China, suggests that a continuing effort to support Chiang's unpopular government would ultimately lead to costs that would dwarf the initial outlay without achieving any useful purpose. And in the case of China, any substantial military assistance would carry a risk of war with a triumphant Chinese revolutionary regime—a war that might conceivably spread into a world conflict.

We must not be misled by pleas to "aid" or to "save" China. It cannot be denied that China, perhaps more than any other country in the world, stands in need of American economic assistance. Eight years of heroic struggle against Japanese aggression and three years of civil strife, with the accompanying inflation, have all but destroyed the country's industry and left millions of people in utter destitution. The needed economic assistance can be provided, however, through United Nations channels without political or military involvement. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, for example, has recently announced that it would make emergency rations available to needy children in both Kuomintang and Communist areas. Such aid will be gratefully received by the Chinese people. But before heeding Mme Chiang's plea for military aid, Congress would do well to study the reaction of the average Chinese.

In so far as they are able to speak, Chinese of all groups have indicated that they would resent any help that prolonged the civil war or buttressed an unwanted, corrupt, and dying Kuomintang regime. Last summer, a group of intellectuals headed by Mme Sun Yat-sen appealed to the United States to cease supporting the Nanking government. In Peiping, several hundred needy students risked starvation rather than accept food from the American relief program. Military assistance, even on the scale that Mme Chiang has requested, would not save a government that the Chinese people have come to despise. But it might prolong the destructive civil war for many months, possibly years, and it would be bound to intensify the existing resentment against American interference in their internal affairs. If we insist on "saving" China in such a manner, we shall seriously jeopardize American prestige and influence throughout the Far East for many years to come.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Murray's Limited Purge

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN and Senator McGrath really want a lesson in how to handle dissidents with zest and dispatch, they can get it from the C. I. O. Where the professional party leaders are perhaps too lightly inclined to forgive and forget, the labor chiefs are laying down the law to their rebels for all the world as though the C. I. O. were the most disciplined political group in the country. "We either have a policy in this movement," Philip Murray told the organization's Portland convention, "or we do not have a policy"; and to make the point unmistakable Walter Reuther invited the Communists and their friends to make up their minds—"either get clear in the C. I. O. or get clear out." Murray's reading of the riot act, by all accounts, was unmerciful. From "ideological dive-bombers," which was the gentlest epithet he applied to those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who had supported Wallace and attacked the Marshall Plan, his choice of phrasing ran all the way to "degraded thinkers," "dry-rot leaders," and "afflictions on mankind." Even some of the right-wingers winced—especially members of the Textile Workers' Union, who not so many years ago were told to swallow a somewhat different line with respect to the Communists.

Mr. Murray can no doubt show that what he handed out to the Communists in the C. I. O. was only a small part of the abuse he has been catching from them ever since word went out from Thirteenth Street that he had changed overnight from Jekyll Murray, hero of the proletariat, to Phil Hyde, tool of Wall Street. It is true, too, that Murray's explosion at Portland was the blowing off of a lid that had been kept on by main force for too many years, unrelieved by any safety valve. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the C. I. O. is not a political party. Unionists are free to support or to disregard its Political Action Committee, and a leader whose politics do not permit him to support the Marshall Plan should not be expected on that account to forfeit his post.

The power to make him do so comes dangerously close to the power to control the politics of the entire membership, since there is little point in forcing a "line" on the leaders if they are not in turn to carry it down to the ranks. And since repeal, or amendment, of the Taft-Hartley act is expected to bring back the closed shop, the logical end result would be to make a man's job at least negatively dependent on acceptance of the political positions adopted at the annual C. I. O. convention. I am satisfied that men like Murray and Reuther would in no circumstances press matters to such lengths, but others might. The question is one of principle, not of persons. And at that, Murray's refusal to allow minority reports even to be discussed on the floor was the kind of high-handedness that points up the danger. The Communist variety of parliamentarism becomes no more innocent and defensible for being employed against the Communists.

Murray himself, halfway through one of his philippics, appeared to appreciate the thinness of the ice on which he was skating. When cries of "throw them out" were heard from the floor, he was quick to caution the delegates that "no one is suggesting that anybody take a walk." And in fact when the dust of the convention had lifted, the Communists were found to be suffering from shock and acute loss of prestige, but they were still in the C. I. O. and all of a piece. Over the protests of Reuther and others, Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers and chairman of the convention that nominated Henry Wallace, was allowed to retain his post as a C. I. O. vice-president. Out of thirty-four union heads, only nine hold this rank, and, the sentiment of the convention being what it was, Murray would have had no trouble had he chosen to shake off Fitzgerald in favor of an anti-Communist like Buckmaster of the Rubber Workers or the reformed Michael Quill of the Transport Workers. But Murray was cool to the proposal. His fire was directed against the smaller of the left-wing unions—Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, United Public Workers, United Office and Professional Workers—rather than the giant U. E. W., the completely Communist-controlled Fur Workers, or Harry Bridges's Longshoremen. And the charge was poor organization, not dubious politics.

In spite of a decent pleasure at seeing the Communists reduced almost to impotence in the C. I. O., I cannot help thinking that Murray's moderation in practice, if not in language, was wise and necessary. If the C. I. O. were in fact a labor party, or the core of one, a different approach might be tenable, though even in such a case a line would have to be drawn between trade unionism and party politics—just as such a line is drawn between the British trade unions and the British Labor Party. But as matters stand, labor is farther from having its own party than it was six weeks ago. With a Democratic Congress pledged to repeal the Taft-Hartley act and a Democratic President who rode in on a platform that might have been drafted by the C. I. O., all talk of a fourth party—and almost all talk of the third—has died out. In many communities labor's stake in the Democratic Party extends even to control of local headquarters, which the trade unionists took over by default in the recent campaign, providing the staff and paying the bills. Unionists may in the end find it inadequate as a labor party, but they will certainly extract all possible juice from the fruit before casting away the rind.

De Gaulle in 1949?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

II. The Left Commits Suicide

Paris, December 10

THE Radical Party Congress which closed on December 5 revealed the Radical Party as it is today—a heterogeneous grouping that has shed its former left-of-center principles in an all-out drive to regain the political influence it wielded before Munich. The Radicals believe they will gain strength steadily as they retreat from their old ideology. Thus despite the acclamations for him, and his almost unanimous reelection as chairman of the party, Edouard Herriot was the real loser

This is Mr. del Vayo's last article from Europe. With the close of the United Nations' meeting in Paris he is returning to New York and will soon resume his regular page of comment on international affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at the Salle Wagram. He was politely but firmly defeated in the battle against what he called the "bigamy" of those who claim membership in both the Radical Party and De Gaulle's R. P. F., for the delegates approved their present dual relationship by a large majority. This divided allegiance has proved most profitable, giving to a party which came out of the war broken and discredited the presidency of the government and of the two parliamentary houses. But in the end it can only work to the advantage of De Gaulle. Herriot will remain the great liberal that he has always been, but the bulk of the party will react to the increasingly poor job he is making of his partnership in the Third Force by going over to De Gaulle.

Obviously, the basic idea behind this Janus policy of the Radicals is that by continuing the collaboration with the Gaullists, begun two years ago, they will in the long run wear down the General's following and finally dominate it. What they apparently forget is that Gaullism has grown in the last two years from an amorphous, vaguely Catholic grouping of some hundred thousand Frenchmen around a symbolic military leader into a regular party with an organizational apparatus far more effective than that of the Radicals themselves. Today De Gaulle has a real party, with neighborhood clubs, regional boards, and a national executive committee. Gaullist cells have spread into the factories, the trade unions, and private enterprise; more significant still, the party boasts of having a large number of sympathizers and camouflaged members in civil-service jobs and ministry posts. It is active and vocal in student circles. André Malraux has drawn together an imposing group of writers, painters, and scientists who consider Stalinism a threat to the free development of culture and De Gaulle as its new liberator. Thus Gaullism is at once an adventure for romantic souls and a powerful instrument of political action far more apt to dominate than to be dominated by the Radicals.

The Radicals are relying on their ability to win in the rural districts—where they have always been strong—by using the old tricks and ruses which French farmers understand and admire. But tricks alone will not solve the problem of high prices, or the enormous budget deficit for 1949, or an unstable currency which has boosted the dollar to 500 francs in the black market. While paying lip-service to leaders like Herriot and Mendès-France, the congress finally adopted a series of resolutions which oppose all the measures of planned economy advocated by the latter and in reality open the road to De Gaulle and his "free-enterprise" demagogy.

By vigorously championing free enterprise the Radical congress opened a new breach in the Third Force defenses, since both the Socialists and the left wing of the M. R. P. favor a mild form of socialized planning. In short, it established the objective conditions which may permit De Gaulle to come to power with the help of the liberals, the Socialists, and, in general, the anti-Communist elements of the present government coalition.

AS A Socialist I particularly dislike having to report the present weakness of the French Socialist Party. That the party which was once the rallying point of the Popular Front, and may again be called upon to play a similar role, should lose its influence is a disaster not only for the Socialists themselves but for the entire French left. I do not attach too much importance to the fact that *Le Populaire*, the party organ, was replaced on December 6 by a tiny tabloid half its former size, though this is symptomatic and serious enough. Much more important is the withdrawal from the party of a young leader like Jean Rous. When M. Rous's action was officially announced last week, I heard from his comrades only words of regret and praise of him, not a single attack. Jean Rous is not a demagogue; he is certainly not a fellow-traveler—he recently rejected an invitation to join the Bataille Socialiste group, which stands for collaboration with the Communists but opposes a merger with them; he is undoubtedly one of the most brilliant men the party has had since its reorganization after the war. He left, he said, because he could not "stand it any longer" (*"Je ne peut plus"*). He could not bear to see the Socialist Party of France become the object of eulogies in extreme rightist papers like *L'Aurore* because the Socialists had mobilized troops against striking workers; he could not bear to see *Le Populaire's* foreign policy influenced by a group of pseudo-leftists like Marceau Pivert, who would be only too happy to see the Soviet Union destroyed. Jean Rous is very critical of many aspects of Russia's foreign policy and is attacked by the Communists for his attitude, but he does not believe a Socialist should accept a man like John Foster Dulles as a natural ally.

It is much harder for a French Socialist to accept certain compromises than it is for a member of the British Labor Party to do so. British Laborites do not have behind them the French Revolution, the Commune, Jaurès, Guesde and Vaillant. In France in the twenties it would have been impossible for a Socialist to behave as Ramsay MacDonald did. Of course there were fugitives from the party—Millerand, Briand, and even Pierre Laval—but in order to be free to follow their rightist inclinations they had to leave the party. That is why the present *malaise* of the party is so profound, and why it counts so heavily in the crisis of French politics.

THESE various tensions naturally aid De Gaulle. Torn by the internal contradictions which I have briefly described, the Third Force has reached the point where its member parties will unite only against the left.

It is difficult to say whether the Communists have lost

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strength since their ministers were ousted from the Ramadier government in 1947. They were, it is true, just about eliminated from the Council of the Republic, but this was done under an indirect-voting system. It will take a general election to tell the real story. However, let us assume that the Third Force is right in stating that the Communist Party is fast losing ground. That does not help the Third Force to build up a defense against an eventual Gaullist drive for power; on the contrary, it strengthens the General's position by further splintering the forces hostile to him.

Throughout the past year of bitter name-calling the Socialists have frequently accused the Communists of wanting De Gaulle to win. Blum has developed this thesis in several of his editorials. One would be inclined to despair of human intelligence if, after the German experience, the French Communists were to adopt the disastrous theory of "better a Hindenburg than a Max—better a De Gaulle than a Queuille" as a means of arousing the people to action. Such a course would be incredibly stupid and dangerous. On the other hand, the Socialists are little wiser in concentrating all their efforts on the destruction of a workers' party whose collaboration they may need if De Gaulle ever becomes Premier. The General has never made any secret of his hostility to Socialist ideas. Surely the Socialists do not believe that by themselves, plus perhaps Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialist group, they could successfully battle against a Gaullist government backed by the United States.

When the Croix de Feu went into the streets in February, 1934, to attempt a fascist putsch, the parties of the left forgot their differences and rallied to the defense of the Republic. They must do it again. Only this time their task will prove more difficult, for De Gaulle in power will have the full backing of the United States, just as De Gasperi has in Italy. To have any chance of success a Popular Front strategy must be accomplished *before* De Gaulle gets into office.

The paradox of France's foreign policy shifting from an alliance with Russia against Germany to an alliance with Germany against Russia, the paradox of two workers' parties intent upon destroying each other, the paradox of shortages despite a higher-than-1938 production, shortages due to maldistribution, bureaucracy, and widespread corruption—all these are ammunition for De Gaulle. Until last autumn I dismissed the idea of a Gaullist government as highly improbable. Today I am far less certain. For I cannot now discount the most tragic paradox of all—that De Gaulle may one day ride to power not on his own efforts but on the errors of the French left.

CORRECTION: In the first part of this article, printed last week, Mr. del Vayo wrote of a conversation with M. Schuman in 1947. Through a misprint the date appeared as 1927.

Pay-off on Palestine

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Paris, December 12

THE selection of the United States, France, and Turkey as members of the United Nations commission to settle the differences between the Arabs and the Israelis is a guaranty that the struggle of the big powers for supremacy in the Middle East will continue for some time. In that struggle there will be no hesitancy about using and appeasing the Arabs even if it means sacrificing the Jews. That is why Britain and the United States maneuvered for almost a week to get a commission from which should be barred any member of the Slav bloc or any other power which has shown friendliness to the state of Israel. It explains why Australia, a logical candidate for a place on the commission, was pushed into the discard. Initially the Anglo-American alliance favored duplication of the present truce commission, on which the United States, France, and Belgium are represented; when Belgium for reasons of its own declined to serve, it became necessary to find a new combination—one that would win Arab support.

All day yesterday the appeal to the Arabs continued, publicly and privately. The contribution of the United States was to propose Turkey, which has been consistent in its opposition to partition and a supporter of the Arab bloc on all Palestine issues. France made its bid for Arab favor with an open attack on the Jews by Foreign Minister Schuman, who in announcing that France would be glad to serve on the commission declared: "We do not desire that the atrocities that have been committed during the war against Jewish populations of Europe should be reproduced in Palestine on the Arab population." Britain's offering was a pledge by Hector McNeil that his government would support any action by the conciliation commission "to prevent whichever party is inferior in military strength from being driven into direct negotiations under duress."

What do France, Britain, and the United States hope to achieve through the conciliation commission? France hopes to regain a toehold in the Middle East. Since Jerusalem will be the headquarters of the commission France gets a remarkable opportunity to reopen negotiations with the Arab world in the service of its own im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perial interests. Britain continues to hope that the commission will make the kind of territorial adjustments which will enable the British, through Transjordan, to regain access to the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean, opening a whole series of inland communications to strategic bases. The United States, on the other hand, would like to emerge as the supreme power in the whole Middle East, superseding, and at the same time using, Britain.

THIS explains why all three powers, throughout the session, have concentrated on wooing the Arabs. Neither Britain nor the United States was eager to have France on the commission, but they were outwitted by the French, whose strenuous efforts to be included culminated yesterday morning in Schuman's outrageous bid for Arab support. Moreover, it was France which proposed the procedure by which the General Assembly gave a cover of democratic choice to a completely autocratic act—namely, the nomination by the Big Five of candidates for the commission, a procedure insuring the elimination of Russia.

Brushed aside were the objections of Israel to a conciliation commission weighted against it, particularly by the inclusion of Turkey. The proposal that at least Australia be included was dismissed with the remark that the Arabs were against Australia. About an hour before the actual commission slate was brought in, Mr. Dulles is supposed to have said privately that the Americans were not opposed to the inclusion of Australia, but they could not guarantee its selection, and in that case Norway was a possibility rather than Turkey. Whether or not Dulles was contravened by his representatives in the committee is not known, but he has had that experience before.

Twenty-four hours before the plenary session the Americans and British were so fearful of the outcome that the former, rather than risk defeat, were ready to propose that no decision be reached. It was then that the bright idea of Turkey was conceived, which intensive British lobbying helped to put over to insure passage of the resolution. Its passage was helped along, too, by the deletion from the version adopted by the Political Committee of all references to the November 29 resolution or the state of Israel and any remaining allusions to the Bernadotte plan. By agreement with the Anglo-American alliance the Arab states voted against the resolution, but Greece, Turkey, and Ethiopia, which had voted against it in the Political Committee, voted for it in the plenary session, while the three previously negative votes of Iran, Burma, and India became abstentions. When the slate of candidates for the conciliation commission was submitted, every single Arab and pro-Arab country voted for it. Only the Slav bloc and Guatemala voted against the slate.

ISRAEL came to the General Assembly with three objectives: (1) to defeat the Bernadotte plan, (2) to secure membership in the United Nations, (3) to obtain an Assembly order for direct negotiations between Arabs and Israelis with a view to a formal peace and a final settlement. The Bernadotte plan was defeated in its basic premises: the Assembly adopted no proposal to detach the Negev from the Jewish state, nor did it approve the attachment of Arab Palestine to Transjordan. On the record the partition plan of November 29 remains intact. The resolution as adopted does call for direct negotiations between the interested parties with the help of a conciliation commission.

To be sure, Israel has not been admitted to membership in the United Nations, but it would still be possible for the Security Council to meet next week, approve Israel's admission, and then leave it to the General Assembly in April to complete the process if it chooses. This development could be held up by two things—the continued illness of Mr. Jessup, technically the only American authorized by Congress to cast the vote of the United States in the Security Council, and British pressure on the Americans to allow the matter to ride in order to give the conciliation commission a chance, in turn, to push the Israelis into compromises. Although the Bernadotte plan has been defeated, its basic purposes could easily be revived under British pressure with American concurrence. The composition of the commission and its terms of reference, as well as Britain's open attitude, indicate that such moves may be anticipated.

It is true that the conciliation commission has no instructions from the General Assembly except to assist the governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement, but in the same resolution the commission is called upon "to undertake, upon the request of the Security Council, any of the functions now assigned to the United Nations mediator and to the United Nations truce commission." And it is almost certain that if Israel proves recalcitrant, the commission will be granted the very broad authority now exercised by the Mediator.

Hector McNeil yesterday made it clear that the British have not given up the idea of territorial revision when he said, "In the whole course of the debate nobody produced a convincing reply against the Bernadotte proposals as a whole, nor did anyone bring alternative proposals to the attention of our committee as just or as workable. Moreover, it will be the duty of the commissioners to interpose the influence of the United Nations with the object of establishing a settlement which reflects not the immediate and perhaps temporary balance of military strength in the area, but rather the more lasting interests of the peoples concerned."

The British have two levers—the Security Council and Abdullah. It is certain that until they receive a slice of the Negev or are completely defeated, their efforts will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continue in the Security Council. Their greatest weapon is the continued validity of the Council's resolution of November 4, with its threat of sanctions against Israel and its subcommittee on sanctions. In the past ten days two meetings of that subcommittee have been called on British insistence with a view to securing the adherence of Israel to all the terms of the November 4 resolution, including the evacuation of Beersheba to an Arab governor under pain of sanctions. As for Abdullah, whether or not the conciliation commission agrees, he is preparing to take over Arab Palestine.

COULD the Anglo-American maneuvers have been defeated? There were three definite opportunities in this session to defeat them, two in the Political Committee. After the British had produced their resolution calling for indorsement of the Bernadotte plan and the Americans their amendments to it, the Australians submitted a resolution which was honest, clear, and more expressive of the real attitude of President Truman than the American delegation's views. Other resolutions and amendments were offered by Guatemala, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Colombia, which at various stages worked in an informal alliance. Had a subcommittee been formed of the initiators of these resolutions and amendments, friends of Israel would have had a majority and could have forced through a decent resolution. Both the British and the Americans were aware of this and fought the idea the whole way. When a motion in this sense was introduced by Australia, it was defeated by a vote of sixteen to fifteen with seventeen abstentions. In the abstention column were the Soviet Union and the Ukraine; had these two voted in favor, a completely different resolution could have emerged.

A second opportunity offered itself on Saturday, December 4, when the resolution as a whole came up for a vote in the Political Committee. It was adopted by a vote of twenty-five to twenty-one with nine abstentions. This time Guatemala and Venezuela were in the abstention column, while Uruguay and Costa Rica were absent. The votes of these four, among Israel's most ardent friends, cast against the resolution would have defeated it. Had the resolution been defeated, it would then have been possible to introduce a simple conciliation proposal not couched in terms of British interests.

The third opportunity was lost in the plenary session. After the vote in the Political Committee, both British and Americans believed the necessary two-thirds' majority could not be found in the plenary session. Bold leadership could even then have produced a new, decent resolution, or, failing that, could have insured defeat of the resolution itself. Defeat would at least have avoided a stacked commission and allowed the situation to rest, with the Mediator acting as conciliator.

Bold leadership was unavailable because the representatives of Israel were caught in a vise and subjected throughout the session to the same blackmailing processes current in September-November, 1947. This was made possible by Israel's application for U. N. membership, which, if successful, Israeli delegates thought, would have been a major short cut to American recognition and other developments helpful to the Jewish state. The Americans held the key to Israel's admission, and the Americans were sold on the idea that Britain had to be "accommodated" despite the President's directive that Israel should be admitted at this session. Accommodating the British meant, in the view of the American delegation, first, the equating of the resolution of November 29 with the Bernadotte report, and, second, the joining of Arab Palestine to Transjordan. When these were defeated, the appointment of a handpicked conciliation commission became the instrument which might achieve those objectives without benefit of resolution. They could not, however, get the conciliation commission without a resolution. It was an open secret that the Canadians would not consent to the admission of Israel to the United Nations until after the adoption of the resolution, that France was also withholding its approval, that Belgium was opposed, and that the seven votes necessary to pass Israel through were not available in the Security Council. That they were not is due of course to design; there was no time when the United States could not have commanded the necessary majority had it chosen to exercise in behalf of Israel the same efforts it did to appease the Arabs. This is why the Israeli delegation, after the defeat of references to the Bernadotte plan, felt it could not actively oppose a resolution which still had many dangerous aspects; and that is why Israel's friends did not cast negative votes when the opportunity offered.

IN SPITE of everything, the British have suffered a real defeat and with them their State Department collaborators. Until the very last moment the department played Britain's game, telling the White House it was bringing the British into line. There were points at which it had to appear at odds with the British, notably on the issue of recognition. It was amusing to watch the same American representatives who were responsible for the sanctions resolution in the Security Council rebut British charges against Israel and defend the Jewish state as a peace-loving nation which had complied with all the resolutions of the United Nations. But the British did succeed in holding up Israel's admission, and in this they certainly had the help of the American delegation. The new "try" at a Palestine settlement will cost the United Nations a minimum of $4,500,000. To me it is clear that the best way of ending the current maneuvers is for the Israelis to show the same intransigence in the field of political negotiations as they have in the military field.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hiss and Chambers: a Tangled Web

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, December 10

THE atmosphere of unreality and farce which has shrouded the case of Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers from the beginning has thickened further in the past two weeks, but some huge and terrible realities are nevertheless emerging. The first is the fact that Chambers, a confessed former spy for Soviet Russia and a man whose dreamy and tormented spirit has thoroughly infused the entire proceedings, has now produced from a pumpkin the incontestable evidence, in the form of stolen military and diplomatic documents, to prove his charge that Soviet espionage operated at high government levels in Washington during the 1930's. The documents themselves, some of whose contents have been revealed by the publicity-hungry House Un-American Activities Committee, suggest a situation just as ugly—that the United States entered into secret trade agreements with the Nazis and was deeply involved in the reactionary diplomatic processes which characterized the entire Chamberlain era. This inference must remain hypothetical until all the documents are available for inspection.

Thus the committee may have unwittingly explained, at least in part, why certain Soviet sympathizers, "misguided idealists," or actual Communist Party members who were then among the "bright young men" in the government should have been moved to take the final desperate step of betraying their native country in the process of betraying a State Department whose leadership and political motivations they had come to despise. Personal motivations do not of course change the fact that this systematic delivery of documents constituted criminal espionage. Millions of non-Communist Americans in this country also looked with abhorrence on American and British assistance to Franco, in the guise of "non-intervention" in the Spanish civil war; on the extension of commercial credits to Nazi Germany; and on all the other disgraceful and hypocritical examples of appeasing the Nazis. Most of these basic and irreducible anti-fascists will feel now that the House committee and the press are exposing more guilt than they apparently realize as they deal out the contents of these stolen secret papers.

What former Communists of the Chambers type seem to be telling us is that terror and destructiveness are such dynamic and essential elements in Communist political processes that even the worst features of American life—the ward-politics corruption, the stupidities of such official agencies as the House Un-American Activities Committee, even the reactionary and fascist groups—do not obscure the fact that "Western democracy" as a whole must inescapably be chosen as the greater good, or the lesser evil, in the conflict with Stalinist Russia. Many of these former Communists seem to be saying, indeed, that liberal reformism and the dissent from native fascism wherever it exists weaken and distract "the West" in a time of crisis and peril. The difficulty here, so far as the reception of this message by liberals and the public at large is concerned, is that these people are so clearly marked by an "absolutist" type of mentality that they seem quite as untrustworthy as patriots as they were as conspirators. The philosophical declamations of figures like Isaac Don Levine, a Hearst-trained journalist who has made a business of exposés, are even less to be relied on. Not the least of the many ironies running through these proceedings, and bearing directly upon the muddled question of who is exposing whom in the name of what, was the absence of the committee's chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, who is under indictment for defrauding the government.

IT IS now apparent that this politics-ridden committee has broken one of the most sensational spy cases in American history. The committee loudly asserts that the Department of Justice has been, by comparison, inept and ineffective in this field. In making this boast, the committee's chief spokesmen wave aside the matter of its systematic invasion of the civil rights of suspects, many of them innocent people, and its frequent refusal to draw important distinctions between traitors to the United States and dissenters from some of the venal and hypocritical practices which the committee throughout its ten-year history has justified as "loyal Americanism." A large section of the public will be inclined now to overlook this aspect of the committee's record because of the results it has turned up. Representative Nixon has anticipated the criticism that Alger Hiss's $75,000 libel suit, and not the committee, was actually what uncovered the all-important documents, and pointed to the indisputable fact that the suit was the outgrowth of committee investigations. Nixon and other members predicted this week that the sensational "pumpkin papers" would oblige the Eighty-first Congress to perpetuate the committee more or less intact.

The committee placed on the public record a description of Hiss's connection with the alleged espionage apparatus given by Chambers in his pre-trial deposition in the libel suit. Hiss has denied this accusation "without

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

qualification," but the House committee contends that notations in his own handwriting included among the papers—identified by government handwriting experts—prove Hiss's implication.

Certain members of the committee have disclosed to the press their belief that Russia obtained full knowledge of American appeasement efforts by means of this apparatus, and that this espionage—not the appeasement, in the committee's view—was in large measure responsible for Russia's decision to enter the non-aggression pact with Germany. Representative Rankin has carried his conclusions even farther, stating for the record that in his opinion copies of the very documents now before the committee reached Russian authorities and were, in some unspecified way, in part responsible for the Pearl Harbor disaster. It is impossible to say what justification there is for this opinion until the full evidence on which it is based is released. Chambers has told the committee that the microfilmed documents now in its possession, numbering more than 300 pieces, never reached Russian agents because he held them back during the period of about a year when he was summoning up his courage to break with the party. His testimony, however, is very vague on this point. The committee's investigators say there remains the possibility that other microfilms were made from the same documents and delivered to Soviet agents. Chambers's nephew, Levine, told the committee that Chambers kept this evidence to use in bargaining with the Communists if he or any of his family should be kidnapped or otherwise meet "with horror."

The committee itself now seems to be split on its attitude toward Chambers. Representative Nixon praised his "patriotic services" and excoriated the Department of Justice for what he believes is its intention to indict Chambers for perjury for holding back the evidence during earlier New York grand-jury hearings. Representative Rankin, a man with a terrible capacity to hate and judge, feels strong animus against Chambers for his former treacheries and believes he is lying about not delivering other copies to Russian hands. As for Chambers's accomplices in the State Department, Mr. Rankin says that this country should have taken the same action that Great Britain took when the late General Krivitsky, a renegade Russian agent, came forward at the behest of Isaac Don Levine to identify a traitor in the British Cabinet. This traitor, a man named King, was executed in the Tower of London.

THE personality and mental processes of Whittaker Chambers are among the most interesting and significant elements of the whole proceeding. A rotund individual with a deep, sad voice, Chambers has given his testimony with great clarity of expression and strong but controlled emotion. To explain why he withheld the documents through earlier hearings, he attempted to describe "the workings of the ex-Communist mind"—its urgent necessity to break with the party, its subsequent strong desire to destroy communism, and its reluctance "to inform" and destroy the lives of former friends. "Their faces come before you, and the faces of their wives and children." At earlier hearings he described the warm friendship he once felt for Hiss, and took note of the fact that they were both bird lovers, and also that he had become a convert to the Quaker faith that was Mrs. Hiss's religion as a "birthright"—in Quaker terminology. Perhaps neither he nor Hiss nor anyone will ever fathom all the obscure processes through which they have now fallen afoul of one another in a tangled web of evidence and lies, perjury, professional ruin, and the libel law, from which one of them can escape only by completing the destruction of the other. Their conflict in all human essentials might have been lifted bodily out of czarist Russian novels like Dostoevsky's "The Possessed" or Turgenev's "Fathers and Sons."

But the most ironic element of all is the fact that Chambers, who on the basis of his own confession may actually have been one of the most destructive spies in American history, has now become, through his prolific writings in *Life* and *Time*, perhaps the leading publicist for "Western civilization" with specific reference to its cultural and spiritual traditions. His long series on the history of Western culture now appearing in *Life* is the most elaborate and in a pictorial sense the most impressive project the magazine has ever undertaken.

This grasping for religious authority and values, now the hallmark of everything he writes—for some reassuring and overarching meaning of life to replace the lost meanings of his Communist experience—is an expression of what has become a familiar phenomenon among ex-Communists. But in its essentials it is not a phenomenon limited to former Communists. This restless, troubled, inconsistent search for values is symptomatic of the confusion of modern man in general; it is a search for values of universal relevance upon a crowded planet, where language differences, property customs, religion, and traditions have raised a labyrinth of barriers between the individual and the common life. Despite the advanced life of the thinkers in the cities, it remains a planet where millions live very nearly at the Stone Age level, and other millions in the Dark Ages, and still other millions in the nineteenth-century slums; and still others—even in fortunate America—cling to ruinous tribal beliefs which they would die to keep unaltered. And so much of this life of the two billions on the earth is beyond the experience of any seeker for absolutes—understood neither by conspirators in poor New York offices, or at furtive meetings in the subways and the one-armed restaurants, nor by the people in the splendid buildings of Rockefeller Center, where Chambers found a new temple but hardly peace.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Israel at First Glance

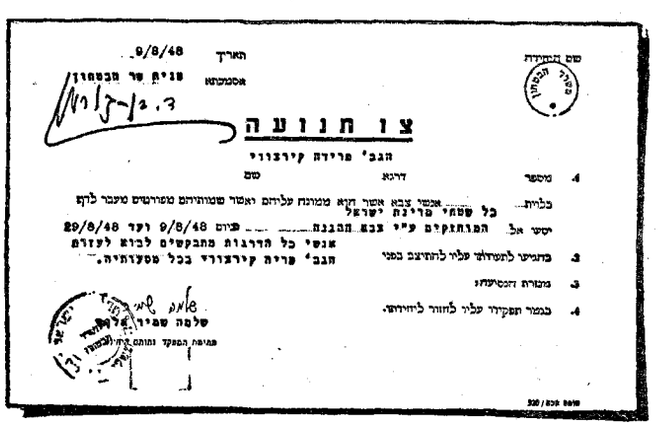
BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

III. The Battle of Negba

MY HEBREW is somewhat limited; it is encompassed in a couplet which, written by ear, runs as follows: "*Ken* is yes and *lo* is no, And *he* is she and *who* is he." I learned "thank you," as well, from Bartley Crum, who put the word to gracious use all over Israel; now this fifth of my vocabulary has escaped, though I thought I would remember it forever.

Fortunately for visitors, most Israelis also speak English or German or Yiddish: orally one can get around anywhere. And Hebrew is the only sensible common tongue for this polylingual nation, quite apart from tradition or political considerations. But I cannot help wishing the new state would adopt the Latin alphabet for written Hebrew. The official papers I brought home, ranging from cable receipts to visas, are unintelligible, even unidentifiable, as are signs and posted explanations all over Israel. For a country so clearly destined to be a magnet for tourists from Europe and all the Americas, as well as a link between the cultures of the West and the East, a unique alphabet is a handicap. Hebrew itself is changing, becoming richer and more flexible as it is made to serve the needs of a modern, complex society; would any serious value be trampled upon if the Western alphabet were to be adopted?

Meanwhile, I will explain to Hebraically illiterate readers that the notice reproduced below is a laissez passer that allowed me to go to all fronts. I used it first on a trip to Negba which taught me, among more important matters, a basic fact about the fighting in Palestine: "front positions" are just outside your door, wherever you may be. The trip was wedged into a morning between a breakfast conference and lunch with the Foreign Minister, Moshe Shertok. It is true I spent too little time in Negba and was an hour late for lunch, but even so, the shattered, trench-scarred desert settlement, surviving within easy range of Arab guns on three sides, seems close to the noisy center of Tel Aviv.



צו תנועה

Military Pass Signed by Prime Minister Ben Gurion

NEGBA is famous. It was a key point in the recent counter-attack on the Egyptians that opened the road for Israeli convoys into the Negev, and its resistance last spring undoubtedly stopped the Egyptian advance on Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. For Negba commands a crossroad that links both cities with the Negev—and Egypt. Its stand was more than heroic; it was one of the decisive battles of the war.

In spite of this, Negba was only a name echoing in my mind; and I realized as we drove south over the rough road below Rehovoth that the story of Israel's victorious war had not been told in the press. If I knew so little of its most important engagements, what did people know who read the news from Palestine with far less personal and professional interest? The fear haunted me throughout my stay in Israel that the full record would never be written, although many people assured me every detail was being faithfully preserved. Negba's fight outshines many a famous battle waged by the ancient Israelites, Gideon's included.

Here I can give it only in tight outline as I heard it from Negba's remarkable commander, Jakob Weiland, while he guided us around his wrecked settlement.

Negba means "southward"; the settlement was founded in 1939 by Polish Jews as a first move toward the colonizing of the Negev. In it many of the techniques used later in the new desert settlements were first tried out. Negba overcame the heartbreaking difficulties of desert farming and by 1947 was a flourishing *kibbutz* of more than 400 people, supplied with water from deep wells and raising cattle and flowers and even a flourishing cornfield, besides more usual garden produce. When I was there, a few cornstalks could still be seen, dry and broken by shell fire, between the trenches. But all the buildings in Negba had been wrecked, their walls punctured, their roofs gone. The defenders of the settlement, men and women, were sleeping on the ground or in underground dugouts. They hoped to improvise roofs for a few buildings before the rains began; but the renewed fighting probably prevented this.

The Egyptians attacked on May 18, three days after the state was proclaimed. On that day they threw in more than 1,000 infantry troops supported by 6 batteries of heavy guns and 24 tanks. From then on Negba was under steady fire for thirty-five days. There were twenty-seven attacks before the first truce, on June 11. In the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

second major assault, after the truce, the Egyptians used 6 batteries of artillery, 32 tanks, and 2,000 troops. During twelve days more than 30,000 shells, bombs, and mortars hit the settlement, besides continual rifle and machine-gun fire. Piled in a corner of the shelter Weiland used as his headquarters I saw heaps of shrapnel and unexploded shells; all were British-made.

The first target of the Egyptians was Negba's huge water tower: they punctured it with shells, and as they saw the water pour out they doubtless thought Negba was finished. But the settlement had small auxiliary wells which furnished its minimum needs, and on these it survived. It had stockpiled food before the attack and had evacuated the children and the mothers of young children. The rest, about 250 people, stayed on, and with a few Sten and Bren guns and some Molotov cocktails that had escaped the eyes of British police searching for arms, they stood off an Egyptian force of thousands of regular soldiers equipped with artillery, tanks, and armored cars.

Weiland showed me with pride the underground "hospital" which had been prepared before the attack began—a low, dim tunnel with earthen sides. Narrow board benches running along the walls served as beds. On improvised shelves stood neat rows of bottles and dressings, and many emergency operations were performed in that crude shelter.

All through the fighting the settlers dug trenches and built sand-bagged dugouts. They published a bulletin, the *Voice of Negba*, putting out twenty-eight issues in thirty-five days. Girls and women fought and worked with the men. In a kitchen exposed to shelling and rifle fire they made bread and hot meals every day; soldiers will know what this means in the midst of battle.

Among the settlers are more than a hundred young Latin Americans of various nationalities, including a group from the Baron de Hirsch colony in Argentina. When the attack began, they had been in Negba only about a year, but they fought like heroes. When the first tank attacks came, Negba had only one anti-tank gun. The settlers met the armored monsters with hand grenades and mortars fired at short range. One Mexican boy, with seven grenades, put six Egyptian tanks out of business. On July 7 Negba threw back four waves of infantry led by ten tanks and thirty-five armored cars, and supported by artillery and the Egyptian air force. By the end of the fighting, seventeen tanks had been destroyed, along with dozens of armored cars, and before the Egyptians withdrew, more than 700 of their men had been killed —three times the number of the whole defending force! Many of them were buried where they fell by the settlers, though at the end of the fighting an Egyptian major in full regalia came to the *kibbutz* with a representative of the International Red Cross to arrange for the removal of the dead.

He was astonished, Weiland told me, to see the sort of people who had stopped his well-armed troops. He asked for the commander of the place. "I am in command," said Weiland. "Your rank?" asked the Egyptian. "I am a farmer," said Weiland, "as we all are; farmers defending our homes and fields." The major looked uncomfortable; the situation was not one to raise a military man's self-esteem. Arrangements were made, rather stiffly; but at the close of the conversation the Egyptian suddenly stepped out of character and remarked, "I don't like this kind of fighting; you will understand that I have been acting under orders."

WITH one of my companions I climbed to the top of the wrecked water tower—still a lookout post. Several men were stationed on the tower. One handed me his binoculars as Weiland pointed out the neighboring Arab positions: two villages a short distance away across open fields, and to the south the immense British police fortress, Iraq Suweidan, from which the major attacks had been launched. I could clearly see trucks and loaded camel trains moving into the fortified inclosure; the Egyptians were using the truce to get ready for the next major battle.

It came when they attacked the Israeli convoy on October 15. In spite of their preparations they were defeated and the crucial highway was captured by the Jews; and on November 9 the police fortress fell under heavy Israeli assaults. There was historic justice in this particular victory, though the U. N. protested it, for the British, before they moved out, had explicitly promised to turn over Iraq Suweidan to the Israelis. They broke their word and let the Egyptians take it, and by their treachery exposed not only Negba but Rehovoth and Tel Aviv to certain attack.

We drove back to Tel Aviv as fast as the dusty rough road allowed. When I reached the home of the Foreign Minister, I was welcomed without any sign of reproach; Mr. Shertok seemed chiefly concerned as to whether I had fully grasped the epic story of Negba. Bartley Crum was there, just arrived from Paris, and a couple of other guests, and lunch was over. But Mrs. Shertok fed me copiously and well while the rest discussed the complexities of Israel's relations with Whitehall and Washington. I listened with my mind half in Negba, with the settlers still sticking to their trenches and their guns, waiting each day for the truce to end in a new attack. You give less account to omens from foreign capitals when you have visited a "front position" in Israel. There you realize suddenly the power that flows from a passionate purpose and a plain, unequivocal willingness to die—two weapons the British could not give the Egyptians. And you understand how heavily this power will weigh in the final balance struck at Paris or London or Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mental Disturbances and Old Age

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE overflowing number of aged patients in our mental institutions is a clear sign of our increased longevity. New York State mental hospitals now report that about 60 per cent of their admissions are of persons over sixty-five. Very few of these aged outcasts from normal life will ever go back to their families and everyday activities. They have been sentenced to a long misery by scientific advances which have prolonged their lives beyond the former normal span.

A highly important study by Dr. Hollis E. Clow of the Westchester Division of New York Hospital examines the outlook for 365 patients admitted to a mental hospital after the age of sixty. The report covers the years from 1936 to 1946. Of these patients 73.4 per cent were in their seventh decade, 22.4 per cent were in their eighth decade, 4.2 per cent in their ninth decade of life. Their median age was sixty-five years; the oldest was eighty-six. Dr. Clow found that they responded surprisingly well to psychiatric treatment and that their subsequent capacity for social adjustment and usefulness was very high. His statistical material was extensive enough to show for the first time that the mental disturbances of older people are by no means hopeless, thereby refuting current psychiatric, and especially psychoanalytical, concepts.

So-called organic psychoses afflicted 35.1 per cent of the patients. Of this group 29.9 per cent suffered from cerebral arteriosclerosis and 9 per cent from senile psychosis, the remainder having organic disorders connected with drug addiction, syphilis, alcoholism, and so forth. The majority of the patients, 64.9 per cent, suffered from reactions generally considered "functional" in type, such as involutional depressions and paranoid states; that is, there was no demonstrable brain pathology.

At the end of the period of observation 24.1 per cent of the patients had recovered—were completely well and able to carry on their work as before; 19.7 per cent were much improved; 20.3 per cent were "improved"; 21.4 per cent were unimproved; and 14.5 per cent had died in the hospital. These results measure up very well indeed with those obtained in any other age group undergoing comparable treatment. The least favored patients, of course, were the ones with marked and irreversible brain pathology. However, it is remarkable that 19.7 per cent of those with mental disturbances connected with arteriosclerosis of the brain showed substantial improvement and became able to adjust adequately to normal life at home. All the four patients with delirium resulting from toxic organic degeneration of the brain —caused by drugs — recovered. But the most favorable results were obtained in the large group of 111 manic-depressive patients, of whom 65 per cent recovered or greatly improved.

Most of the patients studied had had successful careers as architects, engineers, lawyers, physicians, clergymen. All were of normal, many of superior intelligence. External precipitating factors evidently played an important part in their ailments. Many had suffered or been threatened with some loss or misfortune, such as forced retirement from work, financial distress, or some other change in a rigid way of life. An incapacitating physical condition was often revealed as the cause of the breakdown. On the other hand, the resources of the patient—financial, intellectual, and social—were of the highest importance for the prognosis of his disturbance. Patients who had a constructive, successful personality before the outbreak of psychosis, who lived in reasonable financial security and enjoyed a good domestic situation to which they could return had excellent prospects for full recovery.

Dr. Clow describes the case of a seventy-nine-year-old professional man who was admitted for treatment of a severe state of anxiety, depression, and indecision. The attack, which had lasted four months, seemed to have been precipitated by undue worry over rheumatoid arthritis in his left hand. He received some treatment for his physical ailment, and his mental condition im-

MARTIN GUMPERT is a New York physician who writes more or less regularly for The Nation *on new developments in medicine. He is the author of "You Are Younger Than You Think."*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proved slowly but steadily. After six weeks he learned that his firm was experiencing difficulties without him, that his associates needed his help. The hospital gave him an extended leave of absence after two months' residence. He soon became absorbed in his outside responsibilities, salvaged and built up his business, and now, after four and half years, is still interested in his work, has unimpaired judgment, appears younger, and goes regularly to his office at the age of eighty-three.

When the patient's mental capacity seems adequate to cope with the precipitating distress and when his resources are favorable, we have a reliable basis for confidence in his recovery.

Dr. Clow's observations show clearly that the mental disturbances of older people are very often inflicted from the outside and are not the unavoidable symptoms of physical decline. In a discussion of this study Dr. George K. Collier rightly appeals to the general practitioner, who is in a position to observe the early emotional, toxic, or physical factors which lead to mental changes in the aged. But how many general practitioners today have sufficient knowledge of the physiological and psychological changes in the aged?

To commit an old person to an institution without giving him a chance for recovery through adequate medical treatment is a grave wrong against the individual. To withhold the necessary resources for such a recovery is a crime against society. It is destroying the usefulness of a large element in the population, which is becoming more and more a population of the aged.

Muscle-bound America

BY A. G. MEZERIK

III. That Oil Shortage Again

REMEMBER last winter? Remember when oil sold for 31 cents a gallon, when landlords were fined for failing to supply heat to tenants, when ships were tied up for lack of fuel, when oil and gasoline exports were canceled in spite of foreign needs, when schools closed in the great city of New York in order to save oil? Now we are in for all that again, and bans on exports, loans of oil from the navy, hints on how to use less oil, and optimistic statements from the chiefs of the oil industry are not going to help much.

How did we get this way, when our economy has been geared to oil for so many years? Petroleum supplies 48 per cent of all America's energy, and each year becomes more important. In the winter of 1947, when 750,000 new oil burners were installed in American homes, the per capita consumption was 580 gallons, 118 gallons more than in 1941. In 1948 the figure has risen to 628; total consumption this year is 90,000,000 gallons.

Increased demand is of course one cause of the shortage, but it is not the only one. While the oil industry was encouraging all and sundry to instal oil-heating equipment, two Secretaries of the Interior and almost every competent geologist issued warnings that the easy-money oil fields were running out. Aside from the tidelands and the continental shelf no new great fields are in sight anywhere in the forty-eight states. We have one as yet unexploited field at Point Barrow, Alaska—held under wraps of secrecy by the United States navy—but it would be extremely difficult to open this field to commercial exploitation even if that were desirable. All freight for Alaska must pass through the bottleneck of a closely held Seattle shipping monopoly. Even were ships available, port facilities at Seward and Anchorage, the gateways to the interior, are woefully inadequate, and Point Barrow itself is ice-bound for all but a few weeks of the year. The only answer is a pipe line, and pipe lines are kept pipe dreams by a steel shortage which hampers every attempt to free the country from its muscle-bound condition. Little hope in Alaska.

Or in the Caribbean. Latin American oil fields are almost all fully exploited.

The oil interests contend that any shortage that may exist can be overcome if they are permitted to develop, with government help, the oil of the Middle East. There lie the greatest remaining reservoirs—proved resources of about thirty-five billion barrels as against America's twenty-two billion barrels. All the strategy of our oil kings is directed toward winning that prize. Control of Middle Eastern oil, moreover, can bring them not only fabulous wealth but domination of the economy of all Western Europe. The E. C. A. countries produce only about 4 per cent of their oil requirements. When our government curtailed oil shipments to Europe last January by 18½ per cent, owing to the shortage in this country, factories abroad were shut down and transportation was stalled. While little is said in the press about this aspect of the oil problem, plenty is thought about it in government offices in Paris and London—not to mention Moscow.

Mr. Mezerik examined the power shortage on June 19 and the steel shortage on August 7. In a coming issue he will discuss the urgent need for more agricultural machinery.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

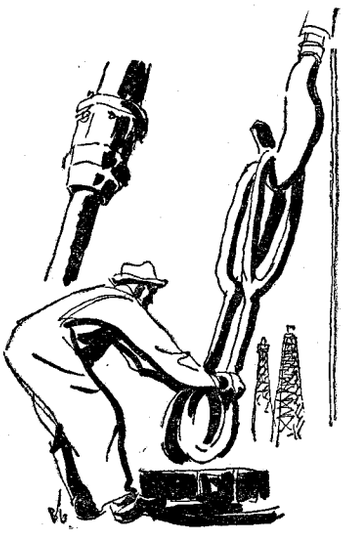
The oil companies and their legislative henchmen saw their opportunity in the necessity for curtailing our exports of oil. "Let us," they shouted, "stop all shipments of oil to Europe from this country and send oil from American-owned properties in the Middle East." They got what they wanted. Under the European Recovery Plan 80 per cent of Europe's oil needs will be supplied from the Middle Eastern fields by 1951.* On the heels of the government decision Standard Oil of New Jersey issued an illuminating statement. "We recognize," it said, "that international trade considerations involve political considerations of the highest order." No one understands such considerations better than the oil companies. It is political considerations which have given them the Middle East.

On the other hand, these very considerations have been a potent factor in creating friction with Russia. The Soviet Union does not relish American control of Europe's principal source of oil, and hence of its whole economy. If war broke out, this source would probably be cut off immediately. Middle Eastern deposits are of such a nature that one bomb on one well might drain a whole field. Moreover, no objective expert, inside or outside the United States, believes it would be possible for us to hang on to the fields for more than a few weeks after war was declared. Russia, from its contiguous territory, could quickly destroy the wells by bombing or overrun them with ground forces.

OBVIOUSLY neither this country nor Europe can look to the oil men and their political henchmen to change the situation. The oil men like the shortage. It gives them not only the rich profits that result from soaring prices but the strongest voice of any industrial bloc in state, national, and world politics. L. E. Ulrope, manager of direct marketing for the great Esso unit of Standard Oil, indicated the only fly in the ointment to a group of oil men meeting recently in New York City. Describing a survey made on the Eastern seaboard by his company, he said that 32 per cent of the replies to a widely distributed questionnaire expressed the opinion that the oil companies were somehow to blame for the shortage, and 38 per cent thought that some sort of government control or supervision would improve conditions. Ulrope and other speakers urged the audience, therefore, to join an industry-wide drive to combat the desire for nationalization which they detected in these statistics. In my view the oil industry is over-sensitive. I have yet to hear the word nationalization even whispered in connection with the oil companies by any group which has influence in this country.

Nationalization would not create underground oil, though it would exploit the tidelands and the continental shelf, now being boycotted by the oil men, and might produce substitutes faster than an oil industry which has long admittedly underestimated demand. Hope of overcoming the oil shortage depends not so much on who owns the fields as on what is done with them and how the oil is used.

A modern solution requires, first, that all new fields within the United States be developed as rapidly as possible. The great tidelands deposits still lie untouched. They will provide us with no oil as long as the companies think that by sitdown strikes, dickers with Cabinet officials, and the financing of states' rights political blocs they can finally get them as a present from the nation. Another potentially great source is the continental shelf, declared to be federal property by President Franklin D. Roosevelt so that the oil thought to be there might be safeguarded for the people. Former Secretary of the Interior Ickes says he was told by a high oil executive that on the California shelf alone "more oil will be found than has been discovered to date on the continent itself." This would be a heartening prospect if the oil companies were not resolved that none of the oil shall be taken out until they have gained control of the whole underwater area.



LARGE as the reserves of off-shore oil are estimated to be, the spiraling demand will find them inadequate. Industrialization of backward countries, modernization of transport everywhere, and the mechanization of agriculture that is necessary to supply the world with food are increasing consumption in geometric progression. At the same time the knowledge is beginning to dawn on us that oil has become too valuable to burn. Crude oil has other uses than to create heat or lubrication. It is at present one of the most valuable raw materials for a great chemical industry. Among the myriad products already being made from it are plastics, insecticides, fertilizers, and antiseptics. Yet according to the New York *Times*, 50 per cent of the total production of crude oil is used for heating. Another 40 per cent goes into gasoline. Obviously, efforts to conserve our oil resources must be applied chiefly in these fields.

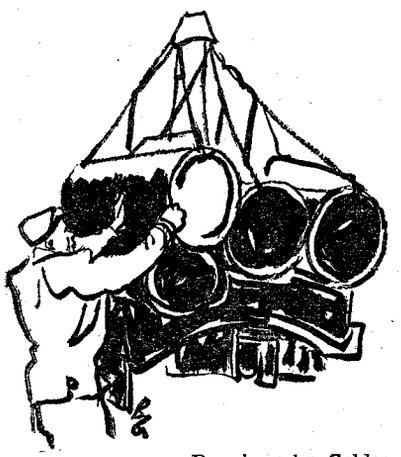
Fortunately, liquid fuel can be obtained from other sources, for instance, from coal. And since the United States coal reserves are estimated to be ample for all demands for the next three thousand years, we can draw

* See Oil Profits and the E. R. P., by Sydney J. Neal, in *The Nation* for December 4.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lavishly on them. Handled as a solid, coal is expensive to transport, store, and handle, but all these handicaps are removed when coal is liquefied. As far back as 1933 the Germans in the Ruhr manufactured synthetic oil from coal on a commercial basis. If we diverted half of our known coal reserve to the making of gasoline, we should have sufficient—on the basis of 1947's consumption—for four thousand years. The Bureau of Mines has a plant at Louisiana, Missouri, which will shortly be producing 200 barrels of gasoline a day from coal. The cost will be about 14 cents a gallon for aviation gasoline. Thus if the oil companies continue to boost the price of their natural product, synthetic gas will soon be competitive. And the 14-cent figure is certain to come down as mass-production methods are evolved. Pulverized coal and coal in the ground have also been used at Morgantown, West Virginia, to achieve cheap production of the carbon monoxide and hydrogen which are used in the manufacture of synthetic fuel.

Burning coal in the vein before it is mined—gasification—is one of the most intriguing possibilities for solving the fuel shortage permanently. The Bureau of Mines in collaboration with a privately owned company has already demonstrated by actual test in a Southern mine that combustion can be maintained in unmined coal and the coal completely consumed and gasified. The processes are beyond the blueprint stage. In a careful, realistic statement the Bureau of Mines says: "If the operation can be conducted with oxygen, and under pressure, very high temperatures, and a suitable synthesis, gas should be obtained. Many problems remain to be solved, however." The gas produced can be used for generating power, for chemical purposes, or for heating.



Drawings by Golden

Underground gasification on a wide scale will work a revolution in great sectors of our economy. It will virtually end the dangerous and exhausting labor of the coal miner. The steel that now goes into freight cars, rails, shovels, cranes, bins, and all the other appurtenances of handling coal will be saved: simple pipe lines will carry the gas to power plants, homes, and factories, most of which now burn oil. In view of the crisis in oil—and in steel—one would expect research in coal gasification to have enlisted the interest of all the major gas, coal, and oil interests. Actually such progress as has been recorded is almost entirely the single-handed achievement of one small department of government, the Bureau of Mines, operating with 200 scientists on a $30,000,000 program of research.

THE conversion of natural gas into synthetic liquid fuel is in a less experimental stage. One of the many Standard Oil giants has a plant at Baton Rouge already in operation and with the completion of others in Kansas and Texas is expected to produce 400,000 barrels of oil a year. Of course, natural gas does not need to be converted into liquid fuel to be excellent for heating purposes. Edwin Falck, chief consultant on power and utilities for the National Security Resources Board, has urged that it be piped into the large Eastern consuming areas as a means of conserving fuel oil. Mr. Falck is not the first to see this necessity, but for years coal, rail, and oil interests have combined their efforts with those of John L. Lewis to keep the competition of natural gas out of their best markets.

Oil-bearing shale rock can also be made to yield liquid fuel. At Rifle, Colorado, the Bureau of Mines has proved beds of shale five hundred feet thick which contain an average of fifteen gallons to the ton. A pilot plant there is producing gasoline at a cost of 5 to 6 cents a gallon, about the same as for gasoline from oil. The quality, however, is inferior.

The sun is of course the most ancient source of heat. But the principle of solar heating is being applied for the first time on a large scale in the new factory of the Gruen Watch Company in Cincinnati. Ten months in the year this building will be heated by the sun all through the day. A woman scientist working at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has also devised a way to use the sun to heat her new house near Boston. As she described it at the September meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the house is heated by a "sun-trap," which represents $3,000 of the $20,000 the house cost. The trap is constructed on the roof, and the heat is stored in tanks filled with chemicals. Successful, low-cost use of solar heat could greatly modify the necessity of conserving other fuels.

There is finally the prospect of utilizing atomic energy for heating and power. If this seems far away now, consider how fast developments in this field have already proceeded.

It is good to know of these various possibilities for the future, but none of them will help us this winter when the oil tanks go dry. Cold houses, idle cars, laid-off workers, increased friction with Russia, all will be due to the machinations of an industry more given to getting its oil through politics than through research. Conservation of resources and the development of new fuels are modern requirements directly opposed to the destructive techniques and set ideas of the old-fashioned oil barons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Two American Painters

JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY. By James Thomas Flexner. Houghton Mifflin Company. $7.50.

WASHINGTON ALLSTON. A STUDY OF THE ROMANTIC ARTIST IN AMERICA. By Edgar Preston Richardson. University of Chicago Press. $10.

THESE works, focused on single figures in the period from 1760 to 1840, together present a picture of two generations of American art. John Singleton Copley, the subject of Mr. Flexner's monograph, still belongs to the pre-Revolutionary world of Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin; Washington Allston lived in the days of William Ellery Channing and Hawthorne. Their careers are separated by the gulf between the eighteenth-century world of reason and the nineteenth-century world of the Romantic imagination.

The hero of Mr. Flexner's book is the last and greatest of the colonial painters, who in the portraits of his American period achieved a shrewdness of characterization and a colloquial vividness of statement that make his portraits the most American and perhaps the finest ever painted in America. Mr. Flexner is at his best in the analysis of Copley's bluntly realistic portrayals of the Tory aristocracy. Almost too much space is devoted to Copley's career in England, where the artist became another purveyor of the fashionable affectation and generalized prettiness that so endeared the British style of portraiture to our own moronic millionaires of a generation ago. More interesting than Copley's attempts to rival Reynolds and Gainsborough were his efforts in the field of historical painting. Although, as Mr. Flexner points out, they are incredibly histrionic in conception, they are interesting documents in the development of the Romantic point of view, with the artist's turning to subjects from contemporary events.

These two books are also significant for their revelation of the changing attitudes toward the arts from the Revolutionary to the Federal period. Washington Allston, the subject of Mr. Richardson's study, once remarked that the English portraitists were "the damnedest stupid wretches that ever disgraced the profession." For his imaginative mind there was little interest in the mere process of catching a likeness. Copley's portraits are collections of painstakingly recorded facts in the manner of an encyclopedist; Allston's portraits, like the magnificent sketch of Coleridge, are evocative interpretations rather than realistic presentations of the subject. In the decade before the Revolution it was quite natural for an artist like Copley to observe, "Was it not for preserving the resemblance of particular persons, painting would not be known in the place." Although Mr. Flexner himself has on other occasions tried to point out that there was a considerable body of colonial painting in genres other than portraiture, the fact remains that only with the stabilization of our economy after the Revolution was there any real patronage for kinds of painting that catered to enjoyment rather than utility, and this in the face of warnings of Jefferson and Adams against the dangers of cultivating the luxury of the arts. In Allston's heyday in Boston (1819-43) both private collectors and institutions like the Pennsylvania Academy were by no means limited to the acquisition of portraits. It would have to be admitted, however, that in this as in all periods of our national history, art was almost exclusively a commodity for the "rich and well-born." This condition is only partly economic: it is also to be explained by an innate suspicion in the American mind of anything that is not practical or that is hard to understand; it is partly the result of that tyranny of the printed word inherited from the reading habits of our forefathers.

When Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his "Democracy in America," "Democratic nations will cultivate the arts that render life easy in preference to those whose object it is to adorn it. They will prefer the useful to the beautiful, and they will require that the beautiful be useful," we seem to find at once a reiteration of the old utilitarian concept of art and a prophecy of the functionalist ideas of Horatio Greenough. De Tocqueville seems to have been entirely unaware of the imaginative awakening, however limited it may have been, that was taking place in American art and letters at the time of his visit in 1831. However, even though other visitors, like Henry Tudor, who came the same year, and Mrs. Jameson, in 1838, found painting other than portraiture accepted as one of the graces of life, the incontestable fact remains that the only kinds of painting that have ever enjoyed any popularity among our "ex nato connoisseurs" have been portraiture and genre painting, just as, according to Tocqueville, for the vast majority of the people there was a preference for books "easily procured, quickly read," and requiring "no research to be understood." It is significant, none the less, that Allston demonstrated that it was possible to lead the life of an imaginative artist in America: he himself never starved for lack of patronage; if he starved at all in what William Wetmore Story described as "that fearful Cambridgeport," it was because his unfinished picture of "Belshazzar's Feast" grew into a kind of neurosis that paralyzed him for all else. He belonged to a period when the artist's personal feelings rather than public demand determined the course of art. As Mr. Richardson points out, this attitude of mind was only the beginning of that eventual estrangement of public and artist culminating in the "art for art's sake" movement and the whole modern conception of the artist's function.

Allston was, of course, no rebel with a credo of *épater les bourgeois;* he was at heart a poet, the friend of Coleridge and Wordsworth, who in his paintings strove for something not unlike the program of the "Lyrical Ballads." Perhaps the explanation for the admiration in which Allston was held by Margaret Fuller and James Russell Lowell is that he belonged to a generation of poets who responded to Allston's luminous color as to Wordsworth's sensuous imagery and felt the same spirit in his haunted visions of night as in the Gothic novels and Coleridge's "Christabel."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OLIVE GARDEN

He went up under the gray leaves
All gray and lost in the olive lands
And laid his forehead, gray with dust,
Deep in the dustiness of his hot hands.

After everything this. And this was the end.
—Now I must go, as I am going blind,
And why is it Thy will that I must say
Thou art, when I myself no more can find Thee?

I find Thee no more. Not in me, no.
Not in others. Not in this stone.
I find Thee no more. I am alone.

I am alone with all men's sorrow—
All that, through Thee, I thought to lighten,
Thou who art not. O nameless shame . . .

Men said, later: an angel came.

Why an angel? Alas, there came the night
And leafed through the trees, indifferently.
The disciples moved a little in their dreams.
Why an angel? Alas, there came the night.

The night that came was no uncommon night;
So hundreds of nights go by.
There dogs sleep; there stones lie.
Alas a sorrowful, alas any night
That waits till once more it is morning.

For men beseech: the angels do not come,
Never do nights grow great around them.
Who lose themselves, all things let go;
They are renounced by their own fathers
And shut from their own mothers' hearts.

RAINER MARIA RILKE

(Translated by Randall Jarrell)

And yet, within a decade of Allston's death, Horatio Greenough, looking back on the failure of his own career as a sculptor, remarked, "I cannot pretend to occupy any space in a work consecrated to American art. I lived with poets and poetry." If the Romantic period of Allston and his contemporaries was a short-lived flowering, the artist's innovations and his importance for the survival of romanticism as an individual point of view in American painting form the most interesting sections of Mr. Richardson's work; for example, we may mention Allston's conception of painting in terms of light and color as aesthetic qualities to be enjoyed apart from subject matter, his mood of idealistic quietism that runs like a thread through all our art. The real importance of the American proto-Romantics is still to be estimated. As Mr. Flexner points out, Copley with such canvases as "Watson and the Shark" anticipated Géricault's sensational "Raft of the Medusa" by nearly half a century, and even the arch-academician Benjamin West, the teacher of Copley and Allston, painted Romantic subjects years before Delacroix appeared on the horizon. Allston in his evocation of mood in portraiture and landscape was, in a sense, the first modern American painter.

Mr. Flexner's book is extremely readable and makes the career of Copley a fascinating subject even to that nebulous, indefinable creature, the general reader. One could, if with a slight shudder, think of Hollywood's pouncing on Mr. Flexner's often exciting narrative of Copley's career as a subject for a romantic costume piece. All that is missing is a full-bosomed heroine, but that should prove no obstacle to the movies. Mr. Flexner's book, like all his contributions to various aspects of our national life, is written with extraordinary facility and a rare sense of humor. His work on Copley reads like a romantic biography rather than a dry work of scholarship, and yet it is crammed with facts and careful analyses of Copley's work. Why, then, is this not popularization at its best? The answer is that the weakness of the book lies in the very attempt to stretch a fragile cantilever beween the popular and the recondite and yet maintain the stability of the structure. The reader sways dizzily with the writer between passages of really creative scholarship and flights of romantic fancy, to plunge into an abyss of doubt that this is the last word on Copley. In spite of its formidable arsenal of bibliography, catalogue, etc., it seems, regrettably, impossible to recognize here anything approaching a definitive treatment of the subject. One has the feeling that Mr. Flexner's account of Copley was more successful as it first appeared in his collection of romantic biographies, "America's Old Masters." Stretching the text to bring it to book length has made the potboiler boil over.

The thirty-two plates in Mr. Flexner's book, although they present nothing particularly new in examples of Copley's work, are admirably reproduced. The comparative material chosen from the work of Copley's predecessors and the British portraitists on whom he relied is useful to have in one collection of illustrations.

Mr. Richardson's book differs essentially in structure and content from Mr. Flexner's essay in that it is not intended as a biography in the usual sense but rather as an account of Washington Allston as a typical figure of the Romantic period in America and an examination of the significance of this phase in the development of our national culture. Within this self-imposed limitation it is entirely successful, admirable for its sensitive analysis of trends in both art and literature as well as for its clarity of expression in a style completely restrained and uninterrupted by those startling metaphors that explode like bombshells on every page of Mr. Flexner's book. Although it is too specialized to appeal to the general reader,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Richardson's work on Allston presents one of the best accounts of the Romantic period and its implications for modern art in America. It can be recommended as a very thoughtful and sensitive account of the creative process in operation in the springtime of romanticism; it should be of special interest to all students of the relationship between literature and art in the period of our intellectual coming of age.

Mr. Richardson's book includes a valuable and complete catalogue of all works by Allston, both known and lost examples, done in collaboration with Mr. H. W. L. Dana. The plates, which include many examples of the artist's work hitherto unpublished, are exceedingly good; the colored frontispiece of "The Flight of Florimel" gives a wonderfully accurate impression of the painter's glowing color that is so intrinsic a part of the mood of reverie pervading his art.

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

Our Record in Japan

JAPAN DIARY. By Mark Gayn. William Sloane Associates. $4.

THE ALLIED OCCUPATION OF JAPAN. By Edwin M. Martin. Stanford University Press and American Institute of Pacific Relations. $3.

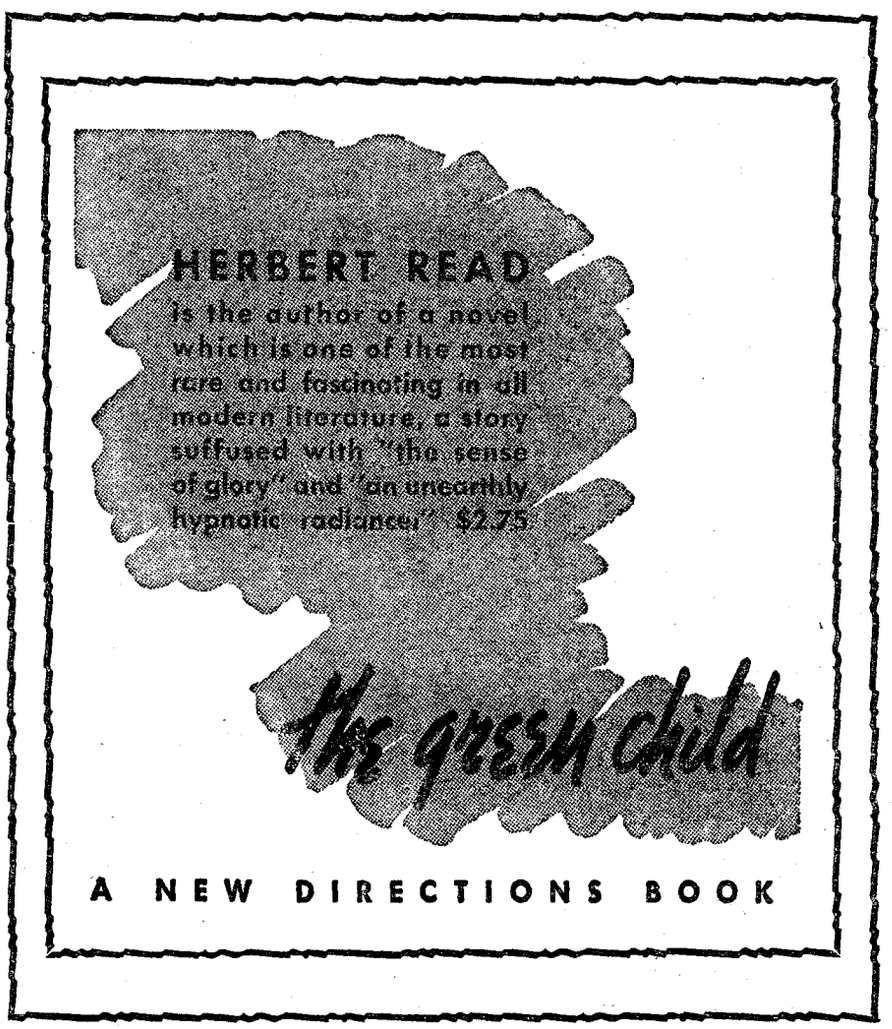
THESE two books deal with the same country in the same period. The word Japan appears in the title of both. Otherwise they have little in common. It is hard at times to believe that they deal with the same subject.

Their purpose, it is true, differs. Mr. Martin was formerly chief of Occupied Area Economic Affairs in the State Department and expressly disclaims any intention of appraising the achievements of the occupation. He contents himself with stating its officially announced purposes and the measures taken to realize them. Mr. Gayn on the other hand is avowedly critical. He went to Japan as a correspondent soon after the surrender, stayed there for two years, with an interval in Korea, and in this volume, in diary form, passes judgment.

To the original program of the occupation as stated in the American government's directive, he gives as much credit as Mr. Martin. It was the design of a new Japan, a democratic Japan, safe for the rest of the world and beneficent to its own people. But the design he finds unrecognizable in the reality. It has been sabotaged, mainly by the Japanese and partly by ourselves. As a result "the Japanese have lost the war, but they are winning the peace, and they are winning it by our acquiescence."

In sum, Mr. Gayn finds that the same groups that ruled Japan before the war and made the war are ruling Japan again under a temporary deference to the occupation. The purge is a fiasco. It has been circumvented by the pre-war leaders. He cites instances of one-time "thought police," among the worst elements in the country, cheating the purge by resigning before it got to them and then being appointed to other jobs just as important. The former economic rulers, who combined feudal powers and privileges with the power conferred by modern industry and finance, have retreated to prepared positions from which they can advance to their old status when America's back is turned. The social reforms by which Japan was to become a twentieth-century society and the masses of its people given a fair share of the country's wealth, and therefore for the first time a status of dignity, have been emasculated. "Today the spirit of reform is dead, and all the Japanese know it."

"Our worst error in Japan," Mr. Gayn writes, "was our original belief that democratic reform would, or could, be carried out by men who hated it." The Japanese rulers hated it, and our own representatives in Japan, the military in particular, were not enamored of it. The latter wanted democracy too, but they wanted it safe and respectable, a democracy that would not tamper too much with vested interests and American ideas of "normalcy." And in justice to them it should be said that they were both sincere and consistent. After all, if they had been in occupation in a defeated England, they would have had none of Attlee and Cripps and the nationalization of banks and coal mines.


HERBERT READ
is the author of a novel which is one of the most rare and fascinating in all modern literature, a story suffused with "the sense of glory" and "an unearthly hypnotic radiance." $2.75
The green child
A NEW DIRECTIONS BOOK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In further justice to them it should be said that they had what they considered a more important end in view—a bulwark against Russia. The quicker the status quo of before the war was restored the solider Japan would be as a bulwark, and presumably, repeat presumably, it would stand as a bulwark to protect America's interests.

Mr. Gayn finds Korea even worse. There Americans have, sometimes unwittingly and sometimes deliberately, allied themselves with the worst reactionary elements and thus discredited the occupation and played into the hands of the Communists.

As one reads through Mr. Gayn's book one feels that under the pressure of disillusionment he has come to take the prosecutor's role. He gives his own case the benefit of all the doubts and may even have ceased to look for evidence on the other side. He may therefore overstate; but on everything that has come out of Japan one who has kept in touch with the country will be inclined to think that on balance he is right. It might have been more just for him to take more heavily into account one fact of which he himself is conscious—that it is highly doubtful whether any country's society and culture and intellectual and moral attitudes can be made over by an alien occupying force, especially if the country has been crushed by that force. The failure is deeper than the burden of Mr. Gayn's charge. Had our occupation authorities been as farsighted and liberal and well-versed in Japan as they should have been (the last they could not be—in the nature of things), they still would not have succeeded.

The insurmountable difficulty is put by Mr. Martin in his introduction: "Many of the most important goals of the occupation can be accomplished only by changing the fundamental emotional drives and patterns of thought of the individual Japanese." And this, though Mr. Martin does not say so, cannot be done by a military occupation in three or thirty-three years. In this respect Mr. Martin's perspective is truer than Mr. Gayn's, but by the limitations he has imposed on himself he gives a picture not quite accurate, even if everything he says is true. A disclaimer of judgment may sometimes operate in favor of what is. Mr. Martin makes a good, concise, well-balanced statement of the problems of Japanese reconstruction, particularly the economic problems, but in confining himself to exposition he leaves the reader with the belief that the problems are being dealt with in consonance with the original purposes of the occupation, which is demonstrably not so. Mr. Martin has produced a good book of record, for reference purposes, but something more is needed. What really is needed is a good hard-hitting defense of the achievements of the occupation to rebut widespread charges of the kind made by Mr. Gayn. If there is to be a rebuttal, it had better be given quickly. And if it is to be effective it had better not claim too much.

NATHANIEL PEFFER

WAR, POLITICS, and INSANITY

By C. S. Bluemel, M.A., M.D.

HERE the psychiatrist looks at the politician and records his observations both for the layman and the scholar.

"A critical evaluation of leadership."—*The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*

"Brilliant psychiatric analyses."—*Hartford Daily Courant.*

"The psychiatric analyses are intensely interesting."—*Denver Post.*

"Well written, entertaining, and informative."—*Rocky Mountain Medical Journal.*

"Written for the layman in simple fashion."—*Rhode Island Medical Journal.*

$2.00 at your bookstore, or from

WORLD PRESS, Inc.

1817 California St. Denver 2, Colo.

Maurois on France

THE MIRACLE OF FRANCE. By André Maurois. Translated from the French by Henry L. Binsse. Harper and Brothers. $5.

ON ONE of the very first pages of this book M. Maurois notes that in the time of Julius Caesar the Germans "were greedily and belligerently massing on the other side of the Rhine." He had just finished a hasty survey of previous conquests and wars on the soil of what became France, a survey in which he did not find it necessary to call the actions of warring cave men—Iberians, Ligurians, Belgae, and the rest—greedy or belligerent. Indeed, he had noted that the Celts "had taste" and that "their superiority of armament and their prowess enabled them to conquer an empire." Four hundred pages later we learn with no surprise that the traditional mission of France to "constitute on the European continent the advance guard of freedom" had been carried out during the great days of the Revolution and Napoleon by France alone, but that nowadays France needs help in that mission.

M. Maurois covers the ground well enough. He gives proper consideration to the early history of France and mixes, in what are nowadays fashionable proportions, narrative and political history with economic, social, and intellectual history. He avoids dreary lists of kings and battles, and no less dreary lists of writers and thinkers. He is chatty, informal, agreeable, and as inoffensively clever as possible. The Maurois touch is not quite what it was with Colonel Bramble, Ariel, or Disraeli; but the history of France is a heavy burden for any writer.

This book is somewhat surprisingly held in check in its last brief chapters on France since 1939. Vaguely but confidently M. Maurois believes that the Spirit of France will still help save the world, but gives us nothing like concrete proposals for action. He insists that the men of moderation have always in the past rebuilt France after disaster—after Agincourt, after the wars of religion, after the Fronde, after the Terror. But he most carefully avoids identifying for us in 1948 the men of moderation. It would be an injustice to suggest that M. Maurois has written the history of the years 1789-99 so that Bonaparte appears as the moderate who saved France, that he has made the First Consul the "rebuilder of French unity," all in order that the reader might see in De Gaulle the "moderate" and "rebuilder" of 1948. Actually, most Frenchmen believe firmly that Napoleon was on the side of the angels, that the "order and peace" he said he dreamed of for Europe were made impossible by uncouth German and Russian nationalism. Historians are often a bit disingenuous about the lessons to be drawn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from their work. But M. Maurois can probably be acquitted of wanting a new Napoleon. He seems, in fact, to want nothing so definite.

In short, this is a conventional one-volume history of France by a conventionally cultivated French man of letters whose mind was formed in the days of the Third Republic. It says the expected gracefully, but not quite gracefully enough to qualify under Alexander Pope's escape clause for the maker of clichés—"what's oft been said, but ne'er so well expressed." Unless you come very fresh to French history, or are an insatiable lover of anything French, you will soon tire of M. Maurois's version of the *gesta Dei per Francos*.

CRANE BRINTON

White on Black

IN SEARCH OF SOUTH AFRICA. By H. V. Morton. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

THIS is a very superior travel book. Although the author has concentrated by intent on the "look and feel" of South Africa, rendering both into words most admirably, and has disclaimed any desire to deal with the multifarious problems of the Union, he nevertheless manages to suggest how the problems necessarily intrude upon the attention of the intelligent sightseer.

Race relations are an inescapable part of South African life. It would be almost impossible to write a book about the Union and not bring them in somehow. Whether by design or accident, Mr. Morton makes it clear how this very pleasant white civilization is founded none too firmly in a sea of color, a situation which makes for disease and can only be endured through a general sense that the whites are properly masters. His avoidance of discussion of the issue arises from his conviction that nobody knows the final solution, but surely he might have said that oppression and segregation à la Dr. Malan's program are *not* the answer. Instead he somewhat cryptically cites in his closing paragraph "the twenty-fourth verse of the third chapter of St. Mark."

American readers will be struck by the fact that Mr. Morton, like most British travelers, tries to domesticate a land which is not England by a constant, and eventually very funny, effort to translate all natural and man-made scenes into English, Welsh, or Scottish equivalents. This seems to put him at greater ease in a strange place. Americans will also be a bit appalled by Mr. Morton's frank pleasure in the abundant food, which, as he notes with a sigh, is no longer to be had at home. Alas, poor Albion!

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

A Major Poet Translated in a Minor Key

COMPLETE POETIC WORKS OF HAYYIM NAHMAN BIALIK. Volume I. Translated from the Hebrew. Edited with Introduction by Israel Efros. The Histadruth Ivrith of America. $4.

HEINRICH HEINE has somewhere compared translations to women. Those which are beautiful are not as a rule faithful, and those which are faithful are not usually beautiful. This dictum of Heine's can well be applied to the translations contained in this volume.

Bialik, who is rightly considered the greatest national Hebrew poet of modern time, was born in 1873 in a small Ukrainian village surrounded by great natural beauty. At the age of seven he was left an orphan, and during most of his childhood he lived in a small town with his pious grandfather, a great Talmudic scholar, in whose home he discovered a treasure of volumes which he read voraciously. He began to write at an early age. The years spent with his grandfather and later at the Volozhin Yeshivah left an indelible impression on the mind of the young Bialik. His first Hebrew poem, "To a Bird," published in 1892, is in spite of a sentimental line here and there already indicative of the poetic genius which was to make him a master of both form and content. He gave expression to the centuries-old but unarticulated yearning of the Jews to return to Eretz Yisroel and to their dormant national aspirations.

What makes Bialik's national poetry so vital and vigorous is that unlike most national poets, and the Hebrew poets preceding him, he is endowed not only with a keen sense of rhetoric but with an immediacy, warmth, and directness which most national poets lack. He is always subjective but is able to complement this lyricism with rhetorical vigor. In his poetry one cannot detect the slightest distinction between the sorrows of his people and his own sorrows, for there is always the feeling that his personal fate is closely interwoven with theirs. The greatest influence on his poetry was the Prophets, and like them he could howl, curse, damn and hurl venom at his people, as he does in "The City of Slaughter"; yet there is never a doubt that beneath the harsh and cruel lines a great love and devotion consume him.

Bialik died in 1934 at the age of sixty-one. In addition to being a great poet he was also a foremost scholar, who even in spontaneous conversation could reveal his profound wisdom and learning. It is not surprising, therefore, that already a vast library exists—and continues to grow—of criticism, biography, memoirs, and impressions of Bialik. Yet his own output is not so large as that of many lesser poets. His complete poetic works are contained in one volume, which indicates the high stand-

Gone up in Smoke

Tobacco, most insidious toxin of our times exposed.

By

PRYNS HOPKINS, M.A., Ph.D.

Just published by Murray & Gee, Culver City. Read how nicotine poisons the germ plasma, the body, the mind, working capacity, and social relationships.

$2.50 from the author
1900 Garden Street
Santa Barbara California

By the same author

FROM GODS TO DICTATORS

A comprehensive and psychological study of religious and political systems.

Paper-bound copies, fifty cents

WORLD CULTURE

An assessment of the civilization of various countries of today.

In cloth, $1.00
Paper-bound, seventy-five cents

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ards he set for himself. His sense of economy, his rigorous self-discipline are manifest throughout his work. A volume of translations done in a helter-skelter fashion, as this one was, can never give an idea of how meticulous and self-critical a poet Bialik was. Perhaps these facts may serve to clarify the mystery of Bialik's slim production.

Bialik's verse is always compact and taut, unlike the translations in this volume, most of which are loosely contrived and diffuse. "To a Bird," originally written in four-line stanzas with the second and fourth lines rhyming, consisted of nineteen words; the translation, on the other hand, is written in six-line verse with the third and sixth lines rhyming and has been expanded to thirty words. The translations are the work of many hands but were edited by Israel Efros, himself a well-known Hebrew poet. Mr. Efros is aware of their limitations and conveys this delicately in his introduction by quoting Bialik: "He who reads his people's literature in translation is like one who kisses his mother's face through a veil."

This book was published by the Histadruth Ivrith of America with the avowed purpose of presenting Bialik to the non-Hebrew-reading public and stimulating interest in Hebrew literature. It seems to this reviewer that the volume not only falls short of these aims but has rendered an actual disservice to the cause of Hebrew literature, for the translations are but a travesty of Bialik's poems. Of course, here and there one finds one which captures the vigor, sensitivity, and lyric quality of the original. This is true of the translations by the Canadian poet, Abraham M. Klein, and even more of those by Maurice Samuels, a good-will ambassador of long standing, whose translations of The Talmud Student, The Death of the Wilderness, and Bialik's folk songs are superb.

ELIEZER GREENBERG

..."A PLAY WITH POLISH AND VIEWPOINT."..
—Chapman, News.
MICHAEL KANIN in association with
ALDRICH & MYERS
presents
MADELEINE CARROLL
in
GOODBYE, MY FANCY
A New Comedy by FAY KANIN
with CONRAD NAGEL • SHIRLEY BOOTH
and SAM WANAMAKER
Directed by MR. WANAMAKER
MOROSCO W. 45th St. Eves. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

"St. Nick"

THE ST. NICHOLAS ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Henry Steele Commager. Random House. $5.

IT IS not necessary to have been reared on *St. Nicholas Magazine* to work up a warm glow over this magnificent collection. A pinch of nostalgia undoubtedly adds to the flavor, but the pleasant truth is that the stories, poems, and pictures that Professor Commager, his wife, his son, and his daughter have gleaned from the sixty-six annual volumes of *St. Nick* need no sentimental props. An astonishing proportion of this 542-page anthology, bound in the familiar red and gold, is good and absorbing reading—as good now as when it first appeared and absorbing at any age.

Among the gems, for me, is Tudor Jenks's wondrous account of how a Patagonian giant—originally a New Yorker who couldn't find work because of his unconventional size—by sheer logic convinces an exploring botanist to let himself be eaten. Louisa M. Alcott's "An Old-Fashioned Thanksgiving" is a delight. So are the sly humor of Sydney Lanier's tale of how shoes were invented and the engaging informality of "Christmas Every Day" by William Dean Howells. But to mention two or three is to do an injustice to many. I might just as well have cited the contributions of Dorothy Canfield, Howard Pyle, Frank Stockton, Ralph Henry Barbour, Bret Harte, and a dozen others. Everyone who could write with imagination and warmth, it appears, was recruited for *St. Nicholas* by that remarkable editor, Mary Mapes Dodge. And then there are the wonderful drawings by Frost, Kemble, Rackham, Pyle, and their equals—and to top it off, Palmer Cox's Brownies, who were practically a trademark of the magazine.

A few, very few, of the selections have a slightly archaic quality—even these have an unmistakable charm—but most of them are as timeless as good writing must be. I doubt that the same will be said thirty years from now about those dismal juveniles that currently prepare the young for life under such titles as "Suky, the Little Hydraulic Pump" and "The Four-Inch Gas Pipe That Wouldn't Rust."

ROBERT BENDINER

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE SILVER WHISTLE," the Guild's new offering at the Biltmore Theater, is an odd little play with a distinctly off-Broadway flavor. I should have been inclined to say that it opened with all the odds against it, but the reports are that audiences are pleased and that it stands a chance of turning into a substantial hit. As for the reasons why the odds were against it, I should list them in this order.

First, the scene, which is an old people's home, is not a very cheerful one. Second, the subject, senility, is not very interesting to young people and is decidedly troubling to those of us who are getting along. Third, the action is not very active; fourth, the moral is not too convincing; and fifth, the style is rather uncomfortably uncertain whether it is realism or fantasy. According to *Variety*, the author, one Robert E. McEnroe, is a research worker for United Aircraft who has written twelve plays, of which this is the first to reach production. There is something unmistakably amateurish in the conception and the structure, but if all these handicaps are being surmounted, then both the author and his play must, as they say, "have something."

When the curtain rises, we are introduced to the humors of an old people's home run by the well-meaning but depressingly earnest pastor of a small church. The inmates do nothing except sit around waiting to die until there appears suddenly through the gate a mysterious stranger who announces that though he is actually seventy-seven years old, an adventurous and wicked life has kept him young. He tells the inmates wild stories of the dangers he has passed through as well as of the splendid sins he has committed; he promises them a share of the next packet of elixir he receives from a wise man of Tibet; and he stirs them up to a rebellion which reaches its climax when they stage on their own initiative a rather raffish church bazaar to raise funds for the home. By the time he is ready to disappear again, the old people have had a taste of Life, and the minister is not only convinced that existence in the home should be a bit brighter than it has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been in the past but is also himself sufficiently pepped up to plan marriage with his timid female assistant.

Quite early in the action we are let in on the secret that the central character—who appears to be a sort of cross between Cyrano de Bergerac and the Servant in the House—is actually only a tramp aged forty-seven instead of seventy-seven and out to get a few days of well-fed ease before taking to the road again. This, I think, is a mistake, since, as one of my predecessors in the field of drama criticism once said, the probable impossible is always to be preferred to the improbable possible. It is always dangerous to explain Mysterious Strangers away, and this particular one, who might have been believed if he had remained impossible, becomes merely rather unconvincing when he is made possible. But who am I to say that this play won't work when the evidence seems to indicate that it is working?

Perhaps one reason for its apparent success is simply that the whole thing is amiably unpretentious and that it persuades one to make the same sort of allowances one makes for the college play or the summer try-out. Another is that the production, though modest, is generally good. A third and perhaps most important reason certainly is that José Ferrer plays the central character *con amore*. The art of tossing a somewhat bedraggled panache is his specialty, and he obviously takes as well as gives a good deal of pleasure in playing this very seedy Cyrano. Time and time again he manages to keep the action alive when the whole play seems about to lie down and die. Various other performers, including Doro Merande as an acidulous old lady and Kathleen Comegys as a simpering one, give him valuable support.

Films

ANTHONY BOWER

DESPITE its tendency to remain faithful to the results of audience-reaction tests and established formulas, Hollywood is still good for a surprise in its choice of subject matter—but never, it would seem, in its method of approach. "Live Today for Tomorrow" raises—to say deals with would be far too strong—the problem of euthanasia, and then, as though to disclaim any idea of having intended to be serious at all, dismisses the whole business by making the mercy killing in question a suicide and condemning the practice in a lengthy and somewhat trite sentence to the effect that since cures for incurable diseases may crop up within the next twenty-four hours there is no justification for it whatsoever. In the manner of someone who embarks on an off-color story and suddenly realizes that he has chosen the wrong audience, the film states a powerful and potentially dramatic situation and then proceeds to sugarcoat it with nearly every stock situation in the book.

The plot concerns a judge who on the bench has never taken into account the human emotions involved in crime and has adhered strictly to the letter of the law. He suddenly discovers that his wife has an incurable disease which will cause her intense and increasing pain. Unable to bear the sight of her suffering, he crashes a car in which they are both riding, and though she is killed in the accident he escapes. He confesses to her murder, is tried, and finally acquitted because it subsequently transpires that she had committed suicide just before the car was crashed.

Since there could never possibly have been any expectation that the film would be a commercial success, it is beyond the bounds of imagination to think why it raised such a weighty question only to beg it and embellish it with so many clichés. The domestic bliss of the judge and his wife is portrayed by saccharine-sweet smiles, gentle banter, and the usual wedding-anniversary ceremony attended by the old friend of the family who has always been in love, in the politest possible manner, with the wife. There is even an ardent liberal offspring, and as well a courtroom scene with the public practically knocking the judge off the bench.

Certain aspects of the film, however, raise it far above the average. Fredric March as the judge, and Florence Eldridge as his wife give such extraordinarily fine performances that they seem to establish themselves outside the dimensions of the script. Their personal drama, regarded as something quite separate within the frame of a stock problem picture, is deeply moving, and both the director and the camera have treated it with feeling and inventiveness.

If "Johnny Belinda" should be shown at your neighborhood theater, by all means see it. It is a very successful adaptation of the recent Broadway stage success about a deaf-mute girl and her illegitimate child, and their persecution by the hard and narrow inhabitants of a Nova Scotia fishing village. There is some fine photography of the rugged and beautiful Nova Scotia landscape, but what particularly distinguishes the film is Jane Wyman, who as the deaf-mute acts with superb tact and depth of feeling. She has real beauty and the makings of a great tragic actress and will undoubtedly be seen next as Little Eva in a technicolor musical version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." This film incidentally has a message too, rather a pleasant one about the rights of the individual in society, which, miraculously, is connected with the plot. The only major fault of the film is an inability to recognize, in dealing with good and evil, any shades between black and white.

Have you read the little book? (only one of its kind published in U. S.)

C. W. Amlin's

TILL DEATH US DO PART

Introduction by Carey McWilliams

PROPOSES COMPLETELY NEW MARRIAGE LAW (Goethe)

Harry Elmer Barnes writes:

"Mr. Amlin's book is a sane, courageous and thought-provoking discussion of the family problem. It is more practical than visionary, for its adoption might do more to check the alarming disintegration of the family than any other single program or suggestion of this generation."

TILL DEATH US DO PART

$1.00

CAMDEN HOUSE

20-26 Camden Parkway

South Pasadena, Calif.

Also Amlin's pamphlet, AMERICANISM —Ammunition for genuine liberals, 5¢ Free for 90 days with above book.

In preparation by Amlin: "What Concord?" A comparison of Communism with Catholicism. Author seeks your suggestion, via Camden House.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE power of performance is illustrated by the English Decca recording (ED-84, $7.35) of Haydn's Symphony No. 96 played by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw under Van Beinum. The work, as I had known it from other performances, had seemed to me one of the lesser symphonies; but the playing of this superb orchestra points up the Haydn procedure of dramatic and humorous surprise and makes the work a delight from the first note to the last. The performance is excellently reproduced; but the surfaces of my copy are, for English Decca, surprisingly noisy.

The same orchestra and conductor produce a powerful and magnificent-sounding performance of Stravinsky's "Le Sacre du printemps" (ED-59, $9.45), which I find superior to the Monteux-San Francisco Symphony version. Most people will prefer it to Stravinsky's own recorded performance with the New York Philharmonic, which has extraordinary clarity and impact, but which comes off the records with thin, hard, and unpleasantly falsified sound.

Beautiful music, beautifully played and reproduced, is to be heard in the set (ED-64, $5.25) of the Handel-Harty Royal Fireworks Music. Sides 2 and 4 of my copy produce bad scrapes.

Another set (ED-62, $7.35) offers all three of Debussy's Nocturnes: "Nuages," "Fêtes," and the rarely heard "Sirènes," which I again find uninteresting in essential ideas, though I am aware this time of marvelous peripheral fragments of orchestral activity. The performances are by the National Symphony and the Luton Choral Society (for "Sirènes") under Sidney Beer; and the one of "Nuages" is well-paced and effective even without the most finished orchestral playing; but "Fêtes" comes out not very joyous. The reproduction of the performances is excellent.

Still another set (ED-60, $9.45) offers (on AK-1335/6) not only the usual three excerpts from the second part of Falla's "The Three-Cornered Hat," played by the National Symphony under Jorda, but (on AK-1796/7) several excerpts from the first part, played by the London Symphony under the same conductor. The music is engaging; the performances are good and well reproduced.

Sargent conducts the National Symphony through the first movement of Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony (Set 83, $11.85) with complete obedience to Tchaikovsky's directions for tempo and dynamics; and the result is the most effective statement of this fine movement that I can recall. Unfortunately he hasn't a good enough solo oboe for the second movement; but the rest of the work is well performed; and the performance is well reproduced—though my copy has, again, surprisingly poor surfaces.

Dvorak's Violin Concerto—well performed by Ida Haendel and the National Symphony under Rankl, and well reproduced (ED-77, $9.45)—is, for me, one of his less interesting works, except for the finale with its engaging folk-song-like material. Rimsky-Korsakov's "Tsar Saltan" Suite—well performed by the London Philharmonic under Fitelberg, and well reproduced (ED-65, $5.25)—is a thin and pale version of what is so delightful in "Le Coq d'or." And Mendelssohn's G minor Piano Concerto—well performed by Eileen Joyce and the London Symphony under Fistoulari, and well reproduced (ED-78, $5.25)—I would expect to have little interest for anyone today—which is what I would say also of Hamerik's Symphony No. 6 ("Spirituelle"), well performed by the Boyd Neel String Orchestra (ED-85, $9.45).

My friend's demonstration of his successful operation and results with the Magnetape Recorder led me to buy one myself, and to run into such trouble with it that I would suggest that interested readers delay until I have ascertained whether they are to be guided by my friend's experience or my own.

Mack Harrell produces his highest notes without the ease and beauty of his lower ones; but his voice is nevertheless a fine one; and at his third Town Hall recital he used it with feeling both for the musical phrase and for the poetic sense that resulted in superb performances of two great song-cycles: Schumann's "Dichterliebe" and Musorgsky's "Songs and Dances of Death." Since artistic rectitude led him to sing the Musorgsky songs in Russian I wonder that it didn't lead him to sing them as Musorgsky wrote them, rather than as Rimsky-Korsakov rewrote them.

A critic can express his gratitude for great artistic performances by writing about them, the public by coming to the theater to experience them; and the New York public showed very little gratitude of this kind for the wonderful things which the New York City Ballet Company offered it. Audiences were shockingly small until the last two performances; and perhaps one shouldn't blame the public, which did not come because there were newspaper critics who wrote tepidly with this and that qualification that the company deserved encouragement, but no Edwin Denby to perceive and communicate the fact that wonderful things were being done which no one should miss seeing. The public won't pay $3 or even $1 to encourage somebody; but it will pay it to see something wonderful that it mustn't miss.

Let me, at any rate, thank Balanchine and Fred Danieli and the dancers who performed their ballets so beautifully—Maria Tallchief, Tanaquil Le Clercq, Marie-Jeanne, Jocelyn Vollmar, Beatrice Tompkins, Francisco Moncion, Todd Bolender, Herbert Bliss, Nicholas Magallanes, and all the others including the exquisitely fresh *corps de ballet*—for the enormous stimulation and pleasure they gave me. Also Leon Barzin and the technical staff. And Lincoln Kirstein, who paid what it all cost.

This week's feature
BEETHOVEN: Septet in Eb, Op. 20 (Pro Musica Chamber Group) Vox 646..... $9.00
FOR **HARD-TO-GET** RECORDS
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 East 44th Street New York City 17
Mail orders, of course
Catalogue: 10¢ post paid. Sample copy of record review "JUST RECORDS" on request

CONTRIBUTORS

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR. is an associate professor in the Fine Arts Department of Harvard University.

NATHANIEL PEFFER, professor of international relations at Columbia University, was long a resident of the Far East.

CRANE BRINTON is professor of history at Harvard University.

ELIEZER GREENBERG has published five books of poetry and criticism in Yiddish and is coeditor of the Yiddish literary quarterly *Getseltn (Tents)*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Was Gieseking's Defender "Technically Correct"?

Dear Sirs: On February 8, 1948, the New York *Times* printed a dispatch by me from Berlin giving the historical background of the case of Walter Gieseking, the German pianist. A few weeks later the *Times* printed a letter from one Kurz, who represented himself as friend and associate of Gieseking, denying the factual basis of my article. A reply to Kurz from me was also printed at the same time.

Now I learn that one Edward W. Snowdon, who represents himself as an intimate friend of Gieseking as well as an intelligence officer in World War II, has printed and circulated a pamphlet purporting to disprove my article. Furthermore, in commenting on this pamphlet, *The Nation* on December 4 said editorially that "this 'evaluation of the facts' is technically correct."

I submit that the "facts" presented by Mr. Snowdon are correct only if the records of the Information Control Division, United States Military Government in Berlin, are incorrect, and I personally resent your bland acceptance of them, and consequently inferential impugning of my integrity, without first making some effort to learn the sources of my information. I am sure you will be happy to print the facts as they came to me.

I wrote the Gieseking article on assignment, without knowing much prior to that time about Gieseking. I had heard him play, rather badly, before an Allied audience in Berlin.

On receiving the assignment I consulted Eric Clarke and Robert Schmid of the Information Control Division and learned from them, as chiefs of the two branches most involved, that the removal of Gieseking's name from the black list had been the occasion for a sharp struggle within I. C. D. which had nothing to do with whether Gieseking was or was not culpable as originally charged by I. C. D. The struggle, as usual, was between elements who held that art was above politics and that artists should not be held responsible for their political views and conduct, and other elements which felt that when the artist abused his status he should cease to enjoy it. The former school of thought won, and the ban was removed without explanation. Mr. Clarke and Dr. Schmid agreed that I should see the entire Gieseking file, and I spent several hours taking notes from it. These notes formed the basis of my article—there was not one fact adduced which was not abstracted from official files.

It is inconceivable to me that all the letters, photostats, business records, and certified transcripts of interrogations which made up the Gieseking file should have been completely inaccurate or false, as alleged. Mr. Snowdon draws a rather long bow when he so implies.

Now as to the facts:

Neither I nor Military Government called Gieseking a Nazi Party member.

The official record shows he collaborated, intensely and with rising profits, and with no evidence of reluctance. If, as Mr. Snowdon says, "trained agents of our government have already probed, evaluated, and given their clearance to Gieseking," then the records in Berlin as of late January failed to show it. And it is simply egregious nonsense to say that the National Cultural Community at which he played in 1935 under Nazi control and auspices is comparable to "the Culture Club of Keokuk." No one who hasn't been asleep for fifteen years would swallow that one. Mr. Snowdon doesn't mention the concerts before students at the Ordensburg party leadership school and the Luftwaffe school for political commissars, also mentioned in my article.

And was it, perhaps, a mere coincidence, or love of Turkish culture, that prompted Gieseking to play seven consecutive recitals in Turkey in 1944, when the heat was on that country, although he had never before played there? As the record of his interrogation quotes him: "The Propaganda Ministry was most insistent." And how about that letter in 1939 declining to go to America for reasons of personal safety, adding that he realized "the trip would be desirable for propaganda purposes."

The intriguing part of the whole Gieseking defense is that virtually all "refutation" is based, not on the written record, but on unsupported letters written by him *after* the appearance of my article in the New York *Times*. In numerous instances his letters deny certified statements made by him to the interrogator and certified copies of his own private correspondence files.

The Snowdon statement implying that nobody but the Nazis and their victims knew about their atrocities is so ridiculous as to need no comment. In fact, if I thought Snowdon really believed this arrant nonsense, I would be unable to understand how he ever operated as an intelligence officer. If he does believe it, he apparently believed everything every German told him, known fact and extreme probability to the contrary notwithstanding.

As for Gieseking's statement that he could have made more money in Berlin, that may be true, but the man's own records show that his income in 1935 was 84,500 marks (about $33,800), and that by 1942 it had risen over 70 per cent to 144,000 marks (about $57,600). I use the Nazis's own valuation of the mark at that time.

Finally, I observe the significant statement that on December 23, 1945, Gieseking wrote to a friend: "This [belief in Hitler] is so silly that it would only make me laugh if it wasn't so stupid and insulting to me." Has it occurred to you or Snowdon that that was more than seven months after the German surrender, and that Hitler was long dead (we hope)?

Now, sir, do you still feel sure that the Snowdon pamphlet is "technically correct"? DELBERT CLARK

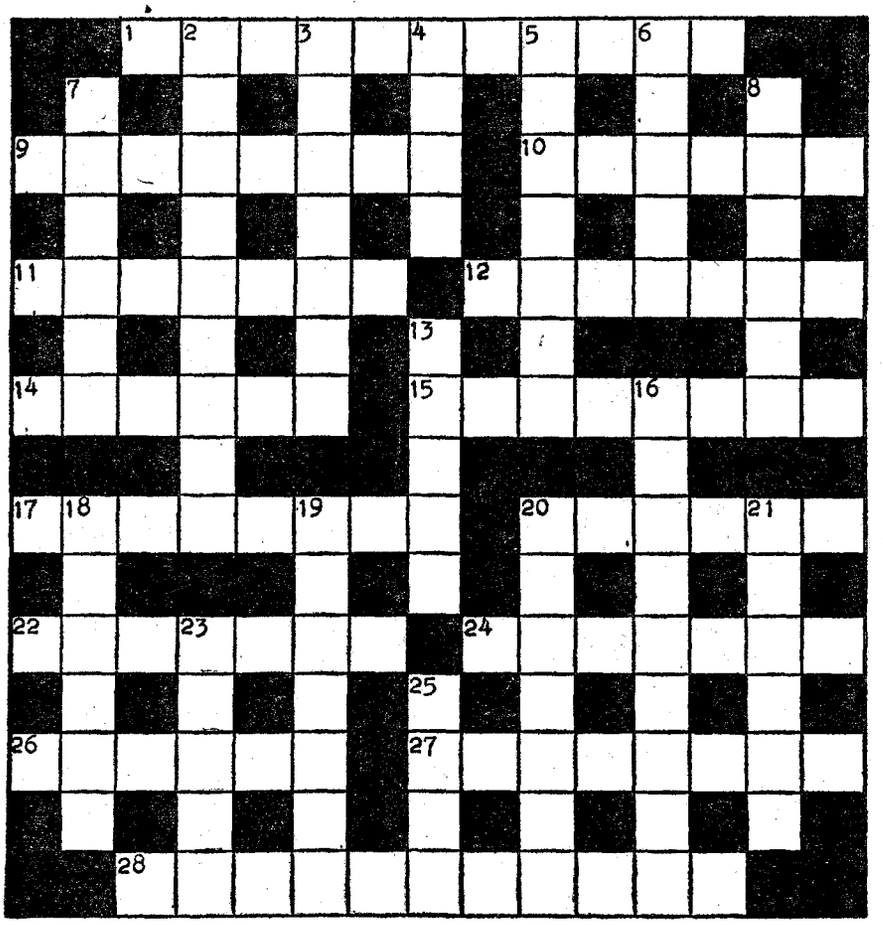
New York, December 6

[Any discussion of Gieseking's culpability involves a good deal of hair-splitting. *The Nation* felt, and feels, that Mr. Snowdon was "technically correct" in claiming that Gieseking was not an *official* participant in Nazism; he was certainly unconvincing in his attempts to prove that Gieseking did not collaborate with the Nazis. In any event *The Nation's* distaste for Gieseking is at least as great as Mr. Clark's, and a large part of that distaste is founded on information gathered and reported by Mr. Clark. The editorial paragraph in question was not in any way intended to "impugn" his "integrity," nor was it intended to convey the idea that *The Nation* had "blandly accepted" anything Mr. Snowdon had to say, for such was not the case.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 292

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 27.
9 Mother is disturbed by the line the weatherman hands out. (8)
10 A sort of rag may perhaps be made of the European type. (6)
11 Made out of coral, an authentic Arabic version. (7)
12 and 13. The European alliance shows how Americans might dispatch things. (7, 5)
14 How a body might be seen at a meeting of capital. (6)
15 This gin tonic bears watching! (8)
17 Reputedly gay. (8)
20 Your sweet tooth might prefer it to a gun. (6)
22 and 4 down. Standard along the Atlantic Seaboard (except in summer, perhaps!). (7, 4)
24 Sink (often by fire?). (7)
26 I'm returning when one of our feathered friends does! (And leaves to show it!) (6)
27 and 1. Certainly Lee wouldn't extend it to a 28. (8, 11)
28 Lincoln might have attributed intelligence to such an apple. (8, 3)

DOWN

2 He manipulates, and he taps, too. (9)
3 Get ready to peel off ahead of time? (7)
4 See 22.
5 Animal preceding a sort of 10. (7)
6 Bound to be close, perhaps. (5)
7 What Mark lost, I'd lose. (6)
8 Sort of a saint for a sort of tarpon? (6)
13 See 12 across.
16 The Royal Yacht, perhaps? (9)
18 A wood-chopper in the storage bin turns up with wood-sorrel. (6)
19 How a sort of tear might be confused with the end of 26. (7)
20 The count might be wrong before a little number comes up. (7)
21 This sounds like it might be rather attractive. (6)
23 Roost in a body. (5)
25 Lies in the ocean. (4)

≈=≈

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 291

ACROSS:—1 MOVING PICTURES; 9 CASTING; 10 DEBORAH; 11 ISRAEL; 12 AVERSION; 14 DWELLER; 17 EAVES; 19 GRUDGES; 21 BENEFITS; 23 ANNUAL; 25 SPLICER; 26 ALI BABA; 27 VACUUM CLEANERS.

DOWN:—1 MACHINATE; 2 VISORED; 3 NOISELESS; 4 PIGS; 5 CADAVEROUS; 6 UMBER; 7 EARLIER; 8 CHIN; 13 and 15 across FLIGHT FROM ARRAS; 15 ARGENTINA; 16 SMALL CAPS; 18 VANILLA; 20 SAUSAGE; 21 BUSY; 22 FICHU; 24 BALL.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

Do Art and Politics Stand Apart?

Dear Sirs: The statement about Walter Gieseking in *The Nation* for December 4 raises wider issues; and as I know nothing of the facts concerning this artist, I propose to stick to the question of general principle. We are advised by you to keep away from certain performances in music for the reason that the artist is a former collaborator of the Nazis, although presumably he is quite competent in his art. My question is this: are we to condemn a cultural work because the character of its author is bad? A wicked person may write an excellent and original article in mathematics. Should I turn my back on the mathematics because I disapprove of the mathematician's morals? Francis Bacon was proved a crook as Lord Chancellor; yet today we read and enjoy his philosophical writings. When I visit the museum of fine arts and look at the pictures, and when I happen to admire them, I don't first assure myself that the painter was a good man. Surely the work of art, or science, or philosophy stands or falls solely on its merits; the man's life has nothing to do with how we value his productions.

Apparently the passage of time makes a great deal of difference in this matter. When Philip of Macedon threatened to invade and conquer ancient Athens, Demosthenes stood up and rallied his people against the barbarians from the north; and he did this with magnificent oratory. At the same time in Athens lived another orator, Isocrates; he was a fifth-columnist and advised the Athenians to make terms with the "wave of the future." Although the speeches of

ARE YOU AN ANGEL?

Man with a dream seeks persons of wealth sufficiently interested in literature to back a "little" magazine. Prospectus mailed.

Also seeks cooperation of talented persons to swing venture—artists, lawyer, business manager, etc.

Box 1794, c/o The Nation

MEETING for EDUCATORS on ACADEMIC FREEDOM

1949 Legislative Program For Education

Thursday, December 21, 8 p. m.
HOTEL WOODSTOCK BALLROOM
127 West 43rd Street, N. Y. C.

Education Division, New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchield, Chairman.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

Fall is rare sport at Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces in most rooms
the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.
PHONES: CHESTER 200; N. Y. RECTOR 2-5047

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Skiing, ice skating in season. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food. Easy transportation. Make holiday reservations now!
ATTRACTIVE FALL RATES
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

Newest fireproof hotel. Finest accommodations and cuisine, sports, and social life. Special Fall rates.
50 MILES from N.Y.C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y. - Tel. MAHOPAC 688

BOOKS

ISLAM
is the religion of 400,000,000 people, yet you have no knowledge of it. Read books by learned Moslem authorities.
The Religion of Islam..... $8.00
Muhammed, The Prophet..... $3.00
The Teachings of Islam..... $1.00
The New World Order..... $1.00
The Living Thoughts of Muhammed..... $2.00
MOSLEM SOCIETY, Inc.
1095 Market Street San Francisco, California

25¢ BOOKS. Finding the ones you want? We've collected 100 of the best published in recent years, mail anywhere in U.S. at regular price. Write for free list, BOOK MAIL SERVICE, Dept. 26, Hempstead, N. Y.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

A LITERARY PROBLEM? Sincere and friendly cooperation offered the professional or promising amateur. Literary Service as well as conscientious sales attention. Write today for FREE booklet "Your Road to Writing Success." DANIEL S. MEAD LITERARY AGENCY, 264 Fifth Avenue, New York. Dept. N.

LITERARY SERVICE

UNUSUALLY EXPERT EDITING, revision, research, manuscript typing, proofreading, foreign locutions corrected. Top references. Moderate rates. Lindemann, Dept. C, 32 Monroe St., New York City.

MSS TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, rapid, accurate. Any kind of work. Rush jobs done. Call GR 7-6841.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.50 per carton; postpaid. Add 3¢ per carton for west of the Mississippi. Send check or money order. King Co., Box 569-A, Dover, Delaware.

Isocrates are not nearly so fine as those of Demosthenes, today we study the speeches of both orators—that is to say, if we know any Greek.

Is it possible that the visible presence of the artist makes a relevant difference? For in applauding his performance we are applauding the whole man there before us—the man with his entire past peering through his present. Would this mean that while we should not *attend* a performance (by a virtuoso or an actor), we are doing nothing wrong in *reading* the music of the composer or the play of the dramatist, even though their political record be morally wrong?

I don't know the answer, and I want some light from you or your readers. I admit that I keep away from performances by collaborators; I don't want to go. Then, what is all the arguing about, you might ask. The point is that while my *feelings* point one way, my reason points another way; and this sort of schizophrenia is not very agreeable. Also, I profess and preach the principle that reason should control the passions. Surely this is a rule to which all of us believers in democracy subscribe. If, conversely, we urged that the passions should dominate reason, we would simply be agreeing with the Nazis.

I would be most happy if you supplied me with some arguments by which I might rationalize my feelings.

RAPHAEL DEMOS

Cambridge, Mass., December 7

[A knotty problem, as Mr. Demos himself acknowledges. *The Nation's* position vis-à-vis Gieseking was only arrived at after considerable evaluation of the pros and cons, and we invite further correspondence from our readers on this subject.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

A Generous Control

Dear Sirs: I should like to correct an error which appeared in my article, The Rookeries Racket, in *The Nation* of November 13.

I stated that a previously unfurnished apartment if made into a furnished one becomes a new unit for which no controls exist, but the fact is that since July 1, 1947, a landlord who has furnished such an apartment must apply to the OHE before increasing the rent. Judging by the number of apartments which have been furnished during the past year, it would appear that the OHE has acted generously on such applications.

GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN

New York, December 2

RESORTS

Tel.: Monroe 4421
For Adults Only
ZINDOREST PARK
MONROE
New York

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
Re-opening for our ninth gala holiday and winter season. All seasonal sports and indoor recreations. Open fireplaces. Excellent cuisine. Modern accommodations. Rates moderate. Make early reservations for Christmas-New Year's holidays.

Yours! THE PERFECT CHRISTMAS VACATION!
Full Entertainment Staff
All Winter Sports
Ice Skating on Premises
Reservations Dec. 24th – Jan. 2nd
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

PLUM POINT
Vacation Fun, Year-Round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

RICH'S RIVER FRONT HOUSE. Overlooking the Delaware. Excellent homecooking. Congenial group of adults. Fall and winter sports nearby. Rates from $37.50 per week. L. Rich, Milford, Pa. Milford 7-4975 or KI 3-2551.

FARMS & ACREAGE

DIAGONALLY ACROSS road from Tanglewood and walking distance of Lenox, we have a 65-acre estate; 16-room house, three baths, central heat, grounds attractively landscaped with vista of elms leading to house, small barn, garage, virgin pine woods, city water. Ideally suited for private home, combination home and guest house or sub-development. Widowed owner sacrificing. $20,000. Would divide. Attractive terms. Berkshire Farm Agency, Lenox, Mass.

REAL ESTATE

MAGNIFICENT First National Bank Bldg. In Mamaroneck, 20,000 sq. ft., for lease, $14,000 net. 3-story & superb basement; 2 elevators. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 5th Ave., New York 17.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

PEN AND INK DRAWINGS by Sylvia Laks, Ben Brown, and Ralph Dubin make beautiful cards at 10¢ each. Exhibited and sold at Charles-Fourth Gallery, 51 Charles Street, New York (Village). Special mail order price: Assortment of seven for 65¢, covers postage and handling.

NOTICE

THERE ARE more than 39,649 readers of The Nation doing what you are doing—reading this advertisement. If you have something of interest to offer them—call The Nation Advertising Department for particulars as to space, cost and closing date of next issue. The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York City 7, BArclay 7-1066.

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ECONOMICAL MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE Nation

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . $8.50
You save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumers Union . . . $9.75
You save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union . . . $12.25
You save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE Nation *by itself:*

☐ One Year $6 ☐ Two Years $10

☐ Three Years $14

☐ Servicemen's Rate $4 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to *The Nation*, or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

_____

_____

_____

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE____

12/18/48

Coming

IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

WHO IS RALPH BUNCHE?
A portrait of the United Nations Acting Mediator for Palestine by Roi Ottley, author and war correspondent.

•

AN AMERICAN POLICY FOR CHINA
by John K. Fairbank, author of "The United States and China," and director of the Regional Program on China at Harvard.

•

A WORLD FOOD POLICY
by Sir John Boyd Orr, former chief of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

•

ISRAEL'S FIRST BIRTHDAY
by Chaim Weizmann, President of the State of Israel.

•

THEY'RE OUT TO GET THE OIL CO-OPS
by Sidney J. Neal, who has made an extensive study of the petroleum industries.

•

THE NEW JAPAN
by William Costello, CBS correspondent in Tokyo.

Library
East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS:

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED